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BY ^{Karl} (CARL) AUGUST AUBERLEN,
DR. PHIL., LICENTIATE AND PROFESSOR EXTRAORDINARIUS OF THEOLOGY
IN BASIL.

WITH AN APPENDIX, BY M. FR. ROOS.

TRANSLATED BY
THE REV. ADOLPH SAPHIR.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.
LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO. DUBLIN: J. ROBERTSON, AND
HODGES & SMITH. PHILADELPHIA: SMITH & ENGLISH.

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"When this cometh to pass—lo, it will come!—

Then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them."

EZEKIEL xxxiii. 33.



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PREFACE.

I VENTURE to put these pages before the Christian and theological public, as a contribution towards the understanding of biblical prophecy. The substance of this book was completed in the year 1852, but it has been revised and re-written since, previous to its present publication.

6-11-32 dwt
The Old Testament enjoys the testimony of more immediate Divine authority than the New, since our Lord Jesus and the apostles mention and quote it continually, and with reverence, as the word of the 'living God. But the manner in which the Old Testament is treated among us, clearly shows that, in its whole mode of conception and representation—in its whole view of God and the world—it differs as widely from views current among us, as a majestic primeval forest contrasts with the busy thoroughfares of our metropolitan cities. Rationalistic criticism directed its first attacks against the Old Testament, and seems to maintain here its ground longest; for, while we may regard it as almost entirely conquered in the field of dogmatic and New Testament exegesis, we see yet a considerable number of distinguished theologians influenced in their views of the Old Covenant, more or less, by the principles of that adverse criticism. Now, is there any book in the Old Testament, where this is so much the case, as that of Daniel, which shares, in this respect, the fate of the Revelations of St John, that book of the New Covenant, which combines, in a peculiar manner, the characteristics of the Old and New Testaments. The ungentle-

ness of Daniel has become an axiom in modern theology, so that it is thought quite superfluous to adduce any proof for that assertion; and the most recent commentator says, accordingly, in a very short and explicit manner, "no sensible man" can entertain any doubt on the subject. It is necessary, from the nature of our investigation, that we should start from the statements of Daniel, and this, moreover, with special reference to the question raised by modern criticism. And this for the two-fold reason, that this question is still occupying a prominent place in our present theology, and that the importance and value which are to be attributed to the apocalyptic prophecy of the Old, and, consequently, to that of the New Testament, depend on the answer given to that question.

However, the converse holds equally true, and is of even greater importance. The answer we give to the question of criticism depends on our general views of prophecy and eschatology. The real source, from which the present mode of treating Daniel and the Apocalypse springs, is, that the critic is not in possession of the key, which opens a deeper understanding of prophecy, and, consequently, he divests the sacred books of everything which, in divine sublimity, transcends his own horizon, of the fulness of its superhuman contents, in order to bring it within the narrow circle of traditional or self-invented conceptions and presuppositions. As soon as dogmatic shall attain a clearer insight into eschatology, criticism will view the apocalyptic books of both Testaments in a different light. At present, they are misunderstood and divested of their real meaning and majesty, but then they will be exalted and seen in the dignity which they possess, and in the unique place which they occupy in the Holy Scriptures as revelations given by God to be a guide and light to His faithful people. We do not, however, blame in this instance Rationalism exclusively. At an early period the Church began to see only indistinctly the view which the Bible gives of the kingdom, and she lost it in proportion as she conformed to the world.

The Reformation brought indeed truths of Scripture to light, which, if followed out consistently, furnish us with the key to prophecy; but the Reformation period did not proceed to this logical deduction. Of a theology, moreover, which has its vital roots in the world (1 John iv. 5), and is akin to it according to its distinctive peculiarity, we cannot expect it otherwise, but that it will be perfectly incompetent to enter into the depth, and height, and breadth, of the divine plan of the kingdom. Such a theology finds it necessary to assume the unguineness of Daniel; but let it not be denied or ignored, this necessity is not a historical, but a dogmatic one. Once adopt this supposition of criticism, and you must of necessity adopt an exegesis, diluting the text and divesting it of all strength and meaning; the arbitrary and untenable character of which we shall endeavour to show in our remarks on the second, seventh, and ninth chapters of our prophet. The manner in which modern critics have treated this book, furnishes us with a striking specimen and illustration of that unevangelical relation in which these theologians stand to Holy Scripture, and which we may regard as the very central seat of the disease of our Protestant theology. Next to this, and in connection with it, we place the fundamental views of our dogmatic, which are formed from the current opinions of the day. Starting from such principles, the books of Holy Scripture are subjected to criticism, and thus the critic proceeds, and only at this stage, to the exegesis of the text, and, of course, cannot and dare not, find in the word of God anything beyond what the dogmatics of our schools and criticism have left and apportioned to it.

Whereas the natural and evangelical order of procedure is exactly the reverse. *Schelling* says, in his preface to *Steffens'* posthumous works: "It is necessary to understand, first, the contents of the biblical books and their true meaning, ere we can form a sound and safe opinion regarding their origin." Hence it is high time that we read the Scriptures simply exegetically, according to such fundamental principles as are laid

down in Matt. xiii. 23 ; John viii. 31, 32 ; 1 Thess. ii. 13. Too long has criticism schooled and often destroyed exegesis ; and yet what can the former be but at best a Martha, who busies herself with many things in the neighbourhood, and with reference to our Lord, while they who, with exegetical faithfulness, endeavour to investigate, and to appropriate, the contents of the divine books, choose the good part of Mary, who sits at the feet of the Divine Master to learn from Him. The apostles and prophets have a claim and right, in virtue of the general impression of moral purity and truthfulness which they make on us and the best of our race in all ages, to expect that we should take their writings as they offer them to us, that we should trust the testimony they themselves bear concerning their authenticity, and that our suspicion should not rest on them, but rather on a criticism which is only of yesterday. It is a thousand times more likely—oh, lamentable necessity to utter such a truism !—that a critic should be mistaken, than that an author of these sacred books should have made an untrue statement. Speak of the *Fraus pia* in terms as lenient and exculpatory as you can devise, it is, and always must remain a *lie*, if I consciously, and with a definite purpose, pretend to be another than I really am ; and, moreover, it is a lie of the blackest dye, if I speak of divine revelations which were never really vouchsafed to me ; indeed, according to the Old Testament, this is the very thing which constitutes the false prophet, and of such an one, the fundamental law of prophecy says : But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word, in my name, which I have not commanded him, even that prophet shall die (Deut. xviii. 20). It is of such prophets that Jeremiah speaks, in his emphatic warnings : The Lord said unto me, *lies* do the prophets prophesy in my name ; I have not sent them, neither have I commanded them, neither spoke I unto them ; -they prophesy unto you a false vision and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart (Jer. xiv. 14, xxvii. 15, xxix. 9). And how is it possible that this distinction between divine revelation and human inven-

tion, between truth and falsehood, should have disappeared in later times, though, we do not deny it, the circumstances were different? We do not ignore the slight difference which it is possible to draw between pretending to a divine revelation and interpolating a prophetic book. But, let us ask the simple question, Would not a true Israelite, without guile,—and that the author of the book of Daniel was such an one, is acknowledged even by our opponents, as the internal evidence cannot be gainsaid,—Would not a true Israelite shudder in his heart of hearts at the thought of inventing divine revelations? Must he not have been aware that such inventions were denounced and condemned by the law of God? What have analogies from spheres, not biblical, to do here? We know truth was weakened and obscured there. Let us not allow scientific terms, which have an appearance of erudition, and, perhaps, of recondite philosophy, to blunt our moral perceptions, and darken our religious consciousness. Wherever the authors mention their name, the question is not merely one of dry scientific investigation concerning authenticity and unguineness, but one affecting the very conscience and character, the truth or falsehood of the author. If we assume the so-called unguineness of the book, we must change our whole view of that portion of revelation and holy Scripture in general. If we had a true and lively sense of divine things, such questions could not be treated with “objective calmness,” but would be investigated with a much holier earnestness. But, in most of our exegetical works, and in almost all the critical works of our times, we find a deep-seated deadness of the mind to the real essential character of the divine word, a blindness which is incapable of seeing the pneumatic and heavenly character of Scripture, and it is only by remembering this sad fact, that one can comprehend how it was possible for criticism to subject the text to such cruel tortures, and that one can account for the cool indifference with which this criticism is regarded and approved of. And this spiritual darkness arises simply from this, that the fundamental relations of the heart to God and

divine things is not the right one ; that there is wanting fear and reverence before His holy majesty ; that light and darkness are not strictly distinguished, and carefully kept separate (Isa. lxvi. 2). From olden times it has been thought a heinous crime to remove boundaries and land-marks ; but it is the boast and glory of our day to remove the holiest of all boundary-lines, that between truth and lie, and to invent a something intermediate. Our fathers knew well what they said when they maintained that the testimony of the Holy Spirit was the first canon of Bible criticism. He who emancipates himself from this fundamental relation of the conscience to the Word of God, is not a biblical, but an unbiblical critic. Let us not separate, in any point, science and conscience, nor let us give way to any sophisms however specious, but let us adhere in theological questions of all kinds, to the moral fundamental point of view. This is especially an imperative obligation in the case of those sacred authors to whom we are indebted for all the morality we may possess, and of whom we find throughout, that their sense of truth was strong and delicate in a most eminent degree (1 Tim. ii. 7 ; John xix. 35 ; 2 Pet. i. 16). It is by no means unscientific and narrow-minded, to proceed from such a starting point, but only according to common sense ; it is inward liberty from the thralldom of human authority ; it is natural, sound, unsophisticated sense, which alone leads to a scientific understanding of the truth. We have lost faith in the supernatural, not because we have gained, but chiefly because we have lost knowledge of nature and what is according to nature. Modern theological science stands chiefly in need to be reminded of the word : God made man simple, but he sought out many inventions. I know from the history of my own development, in which I was not spared the passing through the furnace of criticism, that it is the simple and fundamental truths, to which our consciences bear witness, that form the decisive and all-pervading element, and are able to refute the dazzling deductions of a science which is not willing to place itself in the light of God's holy and all-righteous countenance.

In a time like ours, when not only the gospel of the cross, but even the most elementary views of God, of right and light, are foolishness to the Greeks, and often even to the noblest among them, it is of paramount importance to be faithful in these simple truths, which, however insignificant they may appear, are the foundation of all the rest, and to give *all* the honour to truth, with manly moral and logical energy, not heeding the contemptuous shrugging of shoulders of either friend or foe.

In the present state of things it fills us with the greater joy to see what good beginnings are made on the other side, in the investigation of the biblical books, taking them simply as they offer themselves, and proceeding thus to the exposition of details, endeavouring thereby to seize the plan and connection of ideas in the book, and, finally, searching after the position and significance which are to be attributed to the book in relation to the whole organism of Holy Scripture. This is, moreover, the only right method of refuting false criticism.

Our thirst for knowledge will not be satisfied by a refutation of individual objections; but if we are able to gain a deeper, a more living, organic and historical insight, not merely into individual passages, but into whole books, and thus by degrees into the whole of Holy Scripture, an insight unattainable by that criticism which is incapable *πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνειν* and *πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνειν* (1 Cor. ii. 13, 14), then it will become evident to us, that the results of that criticism touch only the surface and the externals of the subject, and then light will conquer darkness. And, at the same time, the real gain which unbiblical criticism has brought, by suggesting many questions, by showing the great importance of the historical method, by many a salutary exhortation to a more thorough going investigation of the text, finally, also, by many acute observations and correct hints, will only, in this manner accrue, to the Church and theological science.

Let me here acknowledge my obligations to Bengel's school of theology. This school, more than any other, studied to view

the Bible as a whole, and naturally turned to the prophetic parts of Scripture as to the most neglected portions of the Divine Word. Though many individual parts in their apocalyptic systems have not stood the test of time, and though, in many points, we must differ from their views, yet we acknowledge freely, that it was chiefly the gift and task allotted to the Bengel school, to open again to the Church the understanding of prophecy. To speak for myself, I have not met anywhere with more profound and correct views. The reader will find, in the following pages, quotations, not indeed from *Öetinger*, but from *Bengel* himself, *Roos*, the two *Hahn*. Also the venerable Zurich theologian, *J. T. Hess*, though he stood more under the influence of the age he lived in than the men of God named above, wrote a history of the kingdom of God, which is perhaps a little too prosaic, but accurate and intelligent, and deserves our attention. But I was filled with astonishment at the grandeur of thoughts which I saw in *Roos*' book on Daniel, especially concerning the history of revelation. Besides the quotations introduced in this volume, *passim*, we have given a larger specimen of his work in the Appendix. These men must be regarded as true models, unequalled by modern theologians, not with regard to the external scholastic form and scientific system (and yet they have a deeper insight into the organism of divine truth, than is to be found in many of the most elaborately perfected systems), but in the simple, clear, docile position, which they occupy, to the teaching of Holy Scripture, in the delicacy and persevering diligence with which they search its mysteries; in the holy discipline of truly scientific thought, and the spiritual and devout tone of their theology. Hence the depth and fulness of their knowledge, the solidity and abundance of sound theological fundamental ideas, their clear insight into God's ways, and the plan of His kingdom. In reading the works of these men, we feel as if we had entered a temple.

Among modern theologians, I look upon Dr *J. T. Beck*, in Tübingen, as most closely allied to Bengel's school; and to

him, more than to any other modern divine, I feel indebted, as regards the fundamental views of the present work.

It is well known, that the Reformers had only a partial insight into the Apocalypse and prophecy in general; the task and gift allotted to them concerned another portion of Scripture truth. However, I consulted, to my edification and advantage, the commentaries of *Luther* and *Calvin* on Daniel. For, notwithstanding many difficult and obscure passages, the prophecies of this book are clear and distinct as to their essential meaning, so much so, that with all the defects of the older prophetic theology, there is scarcely a book of Holy Scripture, concerning the general import of which the Church of all ages has been so unanimous as this, until the last century affected also this book with its innovations.

The reader will find, that the more important works of modern theology, bearing on our subject, have been used and examined conscientiously. And though polemics could not be avoided, I trust, that against whatever quarter our polemics are directed, the reader will see and feel, that our sole object and aim is the subject itself.

The subsequent pages are written in a style so as to enable intelligent laymen to peruse them, with, perhaps, the omission of certain portions. And, for this purpose, the refutation of the views of our opponents is given separately from the exegetical historical development, and treated in separate sections, specially chap. ii. of sec. ii.; and sec. iii., chap. i., paragraph 2.

In giving to the book this more popular character, I was influenced not only by the conviction, that it would be for the benefit of science, as well as the advantage of the Church, if theologians would consider more the requirements of the congregation, in their exegetical labours; not solely by a desire to be of use to the numerous friends of divine truth, who seek to obtain a knowledge of the whole divine doctrine revealed to us, and to give an impulse to others to study and honour, reverence and love, the word of prophecy; but my chief motive was the

deep conviction, that the times in which we live, render it especially necessary that the Church of God should take heed unto the sure word of prophecy. In all periods, in which the world and the Church were passing through struggles and conflicts, the disciples of the Lord turned to prophecy, and were enabled to enter more deeply into its meaning. It is true, in more senses than one, that we have inherited the fruits of preceding centuries; especially in reference to the development of the God-opposed power. Even *De Wette* says, in his preface to his Commentary on the Apocalypse, written in the year 1848, that he could not avoid recognising the Antichrist described by John, in the character of our times, though the external shape may be somewhat different, and the aspect even more appalling. And, indeed, we know, that the spirit of lawlessness, which manifested itself in that eventful year, that power emanating from the bottomless pit, has only been suppressed for a time, but not really overcome. However, it would be ungrateful not to acknowledge, that the wheat is growing rapidly. But tares and wheat grow together until the harvest (Matt. xiii. 30), and the feeling is at present very general, that both armies are being separated more distinctly, and preparing and strengthening themselves for a final struggle. The apostasy of Christendom from her heavenly king, is manifest in the sight of all observers, and it has therefore become a common saying, that European humanity is growing old and feeble. A false Churchism is rising to power and assuming a threatening aspect in many a quarter. Lamentable self-sufficiency, blindness, and confusion, are spreading in high places and in low places, on the right side and on the left, among the godly and among the godless. Among the faithful people of God—and this is the most painful of the signs of the times—love is waxing cold. Among those who stand upon the same foundation, there is strife and confusion, so that they say, “Lo, here is Christ, or there.” The salt is losing its savour, in many ways. Truth and falsehood are mixed up with ever-increasing subtlety and startling novelty, so

as to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect. Therefore, let us exhort one another to remember and to obey the long-forgotten word of our Divine Master : Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning, and ye yourselves, like unto men that wait for their Lord ! Blessed are those servants whom the Lord, when He cometh, shall find watching.

E R R A T A .

- Page 17, 14 lines from the top, *for* Jehoiakim *read* Jehoiachin.
- “ 76, last line of page, *for* *στειχῖα* *read* *στειχιῖα*.
- “ 78, note, first line, *for* *Antioch* *read* *Antiochus*.
- “ 81, 27 lines from the top, *for* *ἀναληψεις* *read* *ἀνάληψις*.
- “ 106, 6 “ “ *for* *βδελυμα* *read* *βδελυγμα*.
- “ 114, 25 “ “ *for* *furnish* *read* *furnishes*.
- “ 124, first line of page, *for* *into* *read* *with*.
- “ 144, 21 lines from the top, *for* 434 *read* 334.
- “ 197, 5 “ “ *for* *εἵναι* *read* *εἶναι*.
- “ 243, 27 “ “ *for* *ἐπικαλύφθη* *read* *ἐπικαλύφθῃ*.
- “ 246, 17 “ “ *for* *μίδας* *read* *πίδας*.
- “ 249, 6 “ “ *for* *from* *read* *of*.
- “ 302, 7 “ “ *for* *name* *read* *names*.
- “ 330, 21 “ “ *for* *συνδεξάμεθα* *read* *συνδεξέμεθα*.
- “ 439, last line of page, *for* *Pharoah* *read* *Pilate*.

In the earlier part of the book, a few inaccuracies in the references have slipped into the text, which the reader will easily rectify, by a reference to the Index of Texts given at the end.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE PECULIAR CHARACTER OF DANIEL.

AMONG the prophets of the Old Covenant, Daniel presents an appearance altogether peculiar, one, both in form and contents, different from the rest.

The groundform of prophecy is generally lofty and impassioned discourse; the prophecy of Daniel is couched in dreams and visions. He sees symbolical shapes and scenes; he hears heavenly spirits discourse; and what he thus perceives, he subsequently clothes in human speech. Thus he himself informs us (vii. 1) that he "had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed; then he wrote the dream and told the sum of the matter (אמר). In the Old Testament, however, this form of revelation is not characteristic of Daniel alone. We meet it occasionally in the earlier prophets. We remind the reader of that glorious vision of Isaiah, in which he beholds Jehovah in the temple, seated upon a throne and surrounded by seraphim; of the visions of Amos (vii.-ix.), of the two baskets of figs in the vision of Jeremiah, and especially of Ezekiel's numerous visions of cherubim, of the abominations in the temple, the angels executing punishment, the valley of dry bones, the new temple, etc. (i., ii.-xi., xxxvii., xl.). At the same time, the vision occurs rarely in the early prophets, in comparison with "the

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Word of Jehovah which came unto them," while in Daniel it is the rule without a single exception. It is only in Zechariah, who lived later, that the same form of revelation appears based on the precedent of Daniel ; yet even here, the other form is not excluded, but prevails from the seventh chapter to the end. The Revelation of St John alone offers a perfect parallel to our prophet, and for this reason the Book of Daniel may be aptly styled the Old Testament Apocalypse.

With regard to the contents, there is a similar difference between Daniel and the other prophets. All prophecy centres in the opposition between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world—Israel and the Gentiles. The prophet, standing within Israel, sees the future of the kingdom of God from an Israelitish point of view. The Church of God is ever in the foreground ; the Powers of the World come within the horizon, only in so far as they affect the immediate present or the near future of the people of God. That worldly power which threatens it at the time, Assyria for example, or Babylon, becomes to the prophet the representative of the kingdom of the world in general ; or else, as in Isaiah xiii., *et seq.*, Jeremiah xlv., *et seq.*, Ezek. xxv., *et seq.*, where the prophecies refer chiefly to the powers of this world, these powers appear separately and one by one, and the prophecies are simply announcements concerning the "Burdens" of Egypt, Syria, Tyre, Edom, Babel, etc., joined together without rigorous connection. In Daniel it is exactly the reverse. As he himself did not live in the Holy Land, nor among the holy people, but at the Babylonian and Persian courts, in the capacity of a high officer of state ; so it strikes us, at the first glance, that the great subject of his prophecy is the development of the kingdom of the world, while the kingdom of God appears only in the background, though a background, truly, of deep and abiding significance. While the other prophets looked out from Zion to the south, to the north, and to the east, as one or the other kingdom of the world came within the range of their prophetic vision ; Daniel, from the very centre of the power of

the world, surveys its universal development; and only after his glance has comprehended all its shifting forms, does it rest finally on Zion, beholding her affliction and visitation, but also her triumph and glory. It is no longer of individual co-ordinate powers of the world, of greater or less importance, that Daniel prophesies; but the period of the universal monarchies has begun, monarchies succeeding each other in the exercise of universal sway, and in whose successive appearances, the worldly principle, opposed to the kingdom of God, manifests itself with ever-increasing power and enmity. Intimately connected with this peculiarity of Daniel is this other, that his prophecies, above all the rest, abound in historical and political detail. While the other prophets, seeing both the near and distant in the same perspective, are wont to view the whole future from the eschatological point, and to represent it as the coming of God's kingdom; Daniel views chiefly the future history of the world passing through that development which must precede the advent of the kingdom. This accounts for that special character of prophecy peculiar to him alone. If prophecy is anywhere a history of the future, it is here. *

These strongly marked peculiarities of Daniel¹ have been always recognised, even by the collectors of the Old Testament, who have shown their clear perception of them, by placing the book, not among the prophets, but among the Hagiographa. For this reason, Daniel presents peculiar difficulties to the investigator of its historical meaning, difficulties for which modern critics have provided a very simple solution, by denying the genuineness of the book. According to the prevalent view, it was written under Antiochus Epiphanes, during the years 170-164 B.C. Its prophecies reach down only to this king, and it is a record of events which were already past. We designate this view as the prevailing one; since, having appeared as one of the most solid results, not only of an extreme, but of a more

¹ Comp. with reference to these characteristics Lücke, Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis. Second edition, p. 49.

sober criticism, it exercises such a general influence, that even many earnest friends of the Divine Word, can no longer rightly enjoy this central book of prophecy. The more important the word of prophecy becomes in our times, the more carefully we are bound to examine an opinion so generally held. But, before we enter on the consideration of this book, we naturally ask, first, what the Bible and the Church declare concerning it, in order to ascertain what historical right, divine and human, is on the side of the popular view? This is so much the more necessary, as the most recent commentator on Daniel insinuates, that the belief in its genuineness is only an arbitrary assumption of some modern critics, when he says: "The air of authority which the book has usurped from being associated with Daniel, a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, it has been attempted by Hengstenberg to raise to historic reality; a view which Hävernicks and others have adopted from him."¹

II. THE TESTIMONY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

We must consider, first, the testimony which the book bears to itself. Daniel introduces himself repeatedly as the author (vii. 1, etc.; viii. 1, etc.; ix. 2, etc.; x. 1, etc.; xii. 4). It may excite surprise that he does not put forth this claim in the first six, the narrative chapters, but only in the last six, which contain his own visions. This circumstance is not only unimportant, since the unity of the book is now acknowledged by all, even by those who impugn its canonicity; but it may also be very well explained from the general character of the Sacred Writings. In the historical books of Holy Scripture, the authors are, as a rule, not expressly mentioned; while they *are*, for the most part, in the poetical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, and in the Epistles and Apocalypse of the New. And for this satisfac-

¹ *Hitzig*, Commentary on Daniel, 1850, p. 9.

tory reason. The latter class of biblical writings contain individual revelations and commissions from God, which are recorded in Holy Scripture. The revelation consists in that which is written; it is a revelation of words to particular men. The authors are of importance not only as the persons who write, but as the persons who act; for this reason they must mention their names. Not so with the historical books, which contain only accounts of the great revelation of God's deeds. The emphasis lies here, not on the words written, but on the events narrated. The writer disappears behind his subject; the authors, therefore, are generally anonymous. So Daniel, while he does not introduce his name as narrator, records it as prophet. What importance attaches itself to this self-testimony, may be concluded from the impartial decision of *Hagenbach*, who says: "In those cases in which the authors represent themselves as the persons under whose names they write, the judgment passed on the authenticity of the book decides also the canonicity."¹

But, we have not only the emphatic declarations of the book of Daniel itself, but the testimony of the other Holy Scriptures. We shall see afterwards that Zechariah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but especially the Apocalypse, refer to the book of Daniel. And this is the more significant, as regards the three first-mentioned writers, since they are acknowledged to have lived centuries before Antiochus Epiphanes, and thus presuppose and establish a higher antiquity for our prophet.

Apart from the Revelation of John, we find distinct allusions to Daniel in the New Testament (2 Thess. ii. 4; Heb. xi. 33, 34); the former passage giving apostolical confirmation to the prophetic, the latter to the narrative portions. But the gospels are of chief importance. Not only is it conceded on all sides, that Jesus referred to Daniel vii. 13, in that groundword (*Grundwort*) by which he was wont to designate himself, viz. "the Son

¹ *Hagenbach*. Encyclopaedia und Method. der Theol. Wissenschaften, 3d edit., p. 155; also Hengstenberg on the Genuineness of Daniel, p. 183. T. and T. Clark.

of Man;" but He alludes to this passage also in that solemn moment which decided his life (Matt. xxvi. 64), when the high priest adjured him by the living God. His chief declaration, however, is Matt. xxiv. 15, on which see Hengstenberg, in the passage cited, pp. 258-270. Though critics may occasionally have gone too far in the consequences they deduced from that saying of Christ, yet, no doubt, so much is matter of fact, that the Lord speaks there with reverence of Daniel, as of a divinely inspired man, who prophesied events which were yet future to him and his disciples, and, therefore, reach far beyond the time of Antiochus. Finally, we have to mention the passage, Luke i. 19-26. There, there is the appearance of the angel Gabriel, who occurs nowhere else in Holy Scripture but in Dan. viii. 9; and for this reason Strauss, Bruno Bauer, and Ebrard, take occasion of these passages, in their respective works on the gospel narrative, to unfold their different views on our prophet. The first chapter of Luke confirms the objective truth of Daniel's angelology, against the supposition that it was a product of later conceptions, borrowed from Parsism.

Thus, our book enjoys the express testimony of the New Testament on those very three points which have been the greatest stumbling-block to modern criticism: the predictions, narratives of miracles, and appearances of angels, contained in it. Jesus and his apostles looked on Daniel as a true prophet of God, and on his writings as recounting real and divine miracles and prophecies, and that in a sense severely attacked by modern criticism, and diametrically opposed to it.

III. THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

Until the seventeenth century, or, more strictly speaking, late in the eighteenth, Daniel enjoyed, for the above reasons, the unanimous recognition of its genuineness by the Christian Church, as well as by the Jewish synagogue. This led, in the

former, to a correct interpretation of the chapters affected by the question of authenticity, ii., vii., and ix. The last mentioned prophecy was referred to the coming of Christ in the flesh, while in the other two visions the four world-monarchies were understood to extend not only to Antiochus, but the fourth kingdom was interpreted to signify the Roman. On this account the remark of Mich. Baumgarten has more truth, even in reference to the historical state of the question, than the opinion of Hitzig, already quoted :—" It would never have been doubted that the fourth and last kingdom of the world means no other than the Roman, had not a critical science, which is opposed to the spirit of prophecy, usurped for a time the interpretation of prophecy."¹

Thus, all preceding centuries stand opposed in this, as in so many other points, to the solitary last century, which has only one predecessor, and his alliance, moreover, is of a somewhat ambiguous character. We allude to the Neoplatonist, Porphyry, whose attack on the genuineness of Daniel forms only a part of his attack on revelation and Christianity in general. The twelfth of his fifteen books against the Christian religion, is directed against our prophet. And this work, or more properly, extracts from it, which Jerome has preserved in his polemical writings, has become the arsenal out of which modern criticism has drawn its weapons. Porphyry gives accurate, and, especially with regard to the eleventh chapter, important historical references, showing how universally the prophecies of Daniel, up to Antiochus Epiphanes, had been fulfilled. From his point of view, as a heathen, he could find no other explanation of the circumstance, than by supposing the prediction to have taken place after the fulfilment; and for this reason, he was certain that the book was written so late as the time of Epiphanes in Judea. *Quidquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere, si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, mentitum esse*, thus Jerome represents the opinion of his opponent, in the preface

¹ History of the Apostolic Church, vol. i. p. 264. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library.)

to his commentary. The Church Fathers mustered against Porphyry in great force. Methodius, Apollinaris, Eusebius of Cesarea, and others, wrote Apologies, and also for Daniel. The Church had a vivid consciousness of the canonical worth and high value of this prophet. This is evident, for instance, from the judgment of Jerome: *Nullum prophetarum tam aperte dixisse de Christo*; and of Augustine: *Neminem de regni coelorum praemio in Vet. Testamento scripsisse tam diserte*.¹ Thus, the conflict which faith in divine revelation has to carry on in our days against criticism, is only a renewal of that other waged by the Church Fathers with Porphyry. This is an instance of the general phenomenon in the history of the Church, that the struggles which the early Christian centuries—the times of the Apologies—had to maintain against their opponents without the pale of the Church, has been transferred in our days—the time of Apologetics—within the centre of the Church itself. We shall see afterwards, that this circumstance is connected with the entire predicted development of the Church. In this manner the history of our book verifies the word of prophecy.

Luther can yet say, "The first kingdom is the Assyrian or Babylonian; the second, the Median or Persian; the third, that of the Great Alexander and the Greeks; the fourth, that of the Romans. *In this interpretation and meaning, all the world is unanimous*, and the book and the histories do mightily prove it." These words are taken from Luther's preface to Daniel, which well deserves to be read. It contains, in a few pages, an excellent compendium of the interpretation then prevalent in the Church, as he often refers to the consensus unanimity of "all former teachers." Nearly all the other reformers, Melancthon and Calvin, Æcolampadius and Bullinger, have published commentaries of the same character, showing how deeply they were convinced of the importance and divinity of the book. The same view, the same appreciation of Daniel, was universal in the

¹ Comp. Hävernicks, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.* II. 445. On the history of the objections brought against Daniel see Hengstenberg, l. c. 1-10.

Church up to the eighteenth century. We single out only the great interpreter of nature, Isaac Newton (1727), and the great interpreter of Scripture, J. A. Bengel (1752). In our subsequent investigations, we shall often have to quote the latter and his followers. Newton, to whom the fundamental laws which regulate the divine government of the world and the kingdom, were of as much importance as those which rule nature, wrote "Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John." The apocalyptic numbers may perhaps have peculiarly attracted him; and, speaking of the seventy weeks, he says, intensifying the judgment of the Church Father already quoted, "He who rejects¹ the prophecies of Daniel, undermines the Christian religion, which, as it were, is founded on the prophecies of Daniel regarding Christ."

IV. THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

After the impulse given to criticism by Spinoza and Hobbes, the genuineness of Daniel was impugned by English Deism and German Rationalism. Critics were not able to appreciate the book, because they had lost sight of the relation it bears to the history of the kingdom, and therefore it was rejected. This appears very clearly from *Semler's* opinion, who "does not see the great practical use proportional to the very peculiar means God employs." *J. D. Michaelis*, *Eichorn*, and others, attacked especially the narratives of miraculous events, Chap. iii. 6; afterwards, the well-known naturalist, *Corrodi*, assailed the entire book. It is only in our century that this view of the subject has acquired a solid and important literature. This consists partly of essays, partly of commentaries. *Bertholdt* (1806, 1808) *Cæsar von Lengerke* (1835), *Hitzig* (1850), have developed this view in commentaries; with whom, compare *Ewald* ("Prophets of the Old

¹ Quoted from the German translation.

Testament," p. 558, etc.), whose exposition, however, is confined to Dan. ix. 24, 27. The most remarkable of the treatises on the subject is that by *Bleek* (in the "Theologische Zeitschrift von *Schleiermacher*, *de Wette*, and *Lücke* iii. p. 171, etc.) He is followed by *De Wette* (Einleitung in das Alte Testament), *Knobel* (Prophetismus der Hebräer), and *Lücke* (Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis, 2d Edition, 1848, pp. 40-60).

The arguments of our opponents may be divided into three classes, dogmatical, exegetical, and historical.

That the true argument of all others, even in modern criticism, lies in the *dogmatic* doubt of the reality of miracles and predictions, is manifest from a passage of *Knobel*, cited casually by *De Wette*: "Wherever we meet with numerous myths and legends in Hebrew history, as, for example, in the history of the Patriarchs, of Moses, Balaam, Samson, Elijah, Elisha, there we have always narratives written down a considerable time after the events; but wherever the facts appear natural, as, for example, in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, the composition took place, if not contemporaneously with the events, at least soon after. This is a historical canon of indubitable application. Hence it follows that, not Daniel, but a much later writer, is the author of the narrative before us, and, consequently, of the entire book."¹ So also, *Hitzig* does not deem it at all necessary to disprove the genuineness, but settles the whole question in a few lines, by quoting (p. ix.) the words of a profane historian, "the absurd view of *Hävernick*, about the antiquity of the book of Daniel, cannot be adopted by any reasonable man." For us who believe with all our heart in the reality of miracles and prophecies, these arguments are not only devoid of all weight, but we can only feel indebted to the candour of criticism in thus laying bare the secret motives of its procedure, as we are now fully aware what we may expect from such a mode of treating Holy Scripture. We trust, however, we shall not be expected to

¹ *Knobel*, loc. cit. ii. 401. *De Wette* Introduct. Sixth edition, p. 383.

believe that criticism proceeds without presupposition, and after a purely historical method.

The sum and substance of the *exegetical* argument is, that the most natural, nay, even the only possible interpretation of the whole book, is obtained by referring it to Antiochus Epiphanes. We shall not anticipate the contents of the following pages, where this central position will be examined at length.

Among the *historical* arguments, there is one of real historical importance, namely, the occurrence of Greek names for musical instruments (Dan. iii. 5, 7). But we may look on this very point as given up by our opponents. At least, De Wette says (p. 386), "It is possible, we must grant, that such instruments and their names were known at the time to the Babylonians," a possibility, moreover, which Hitzig (p. 44)¹ is unable to impugn. The other arguments, which will be found collected by De Wette (p. 382, etc.), have either no conclusive force, like the *argumentum ex silentio*, that Sirach in his 49th chapter, in which he praises men of God and prophets, makes no mention of Daniel, or proceed palpably on suppositions, the correctness of which remains to be demonstrated, as, for instance, the argument from the occurrence of late christological and angelological views, from the non-existence of Darius, the Median (Dan. vi. 1, 29 ; ix. 1), and the like. In this respect, Rationalistic criticism has been sufficiently answered by that which is grounded on faith in revelation. "The spuriousness of Daniel," justly remarks Ebrard, "has, for its sole support, only the theological doubts of the possibility of prophecy in general, and of a prophecy so minute in particular. The historical and philological arguments against its genuineness, have been sufficiently refuted by Hengstenberg and Hävernicks."²

A reaction against this critical depreciation of the prophet was as inevitable in the church of the present, as it was in the ancient church. For what does the former view make of the

¹ Comp. Schulz, Cyrus der Grosse. Stud. and Kritiken, 1853, iii. 677.

² Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evang. Geschichte p. 208.

book? It becomes not only a book of continual monotonous repetition, but a work interpolated for a specific purpose, though with no evil intention; not a work of divine inspiration, but proceeding from human art and calculation, consisting, moreover, of fictitious legends of saints which lay claim to historic belief; of narratives of events which appear in the deceptive mask of prophecy, but are of no value to us who know them better from other sources; lastly, of enthusiastic expectations and false national dreams, which history has proved to have been unreal. It was Hengstenberg who here also opened the struggle against Rationalism. The first volume of his contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament (1831), which has been already quoted, is dedicated to the demonstration of the authenticity of Daniel, and the integrity of Zechariah. Soon after, in the second volume of his Christology of the Old Testament (1832), he attacked the modern views on exegetical grounds, by confirming anew the church's interpretation of Dan. ix. 24-27. He was joined by Hävernicks, in his Commentary on Daniel (1832), in his New Critical Investigations, directed chiefly against Von Lengerke, as well as in his Introduction to the Old Testament (ii. 2, 1844, pp. 435-495). Since that time, the question has been treated in two more comprehensive works, in which it is viewed from the standpoint of faith in revelation; exegetically by J. Chr. K. Hofmann in his Weissagung und Erfüllung (i. 1841, pp. 277-316), critically by Keil in his Introduction to the Old Testament (1853, pp. 438-468).

We cannot, however, deny that these labours, notwithstanding their high merit, yet leave much to be wished for. Hengstenberg and Hävernicks, moreover, have not been quite able to oppose the pseudo-historical view of the Old Testament; false, because taken from the standpoint of profane history, since they do not view it in relation to the history of revelation. They hold fast to the reality of revelation with praiseworthy energy; but they do not give sufficient prominence to the historical interpretation of its successive development. Thus, they have

refuted the separate objections with much acuteness and erudition, and in this way have brought many questions to a final solution; but they do not afford a positive, central, organic, and historical view of our prophet as a whole; and the more lucid glimpses in this direction (*e.g.* Beitrage i., pp. 191-195), appear only as occasional and isolated remarks. And yet a subject like this requires, above all, a demonstration that the prophecies are an organic product of that particular form of revelation in which they originated. In this respect, Hofmann has done important service for Daniel, and has marked out some central points of view.

V. THE PRESENT TASK.

The present task, accordingly, is to recognize the position and significance of Daniel, in the entire organism of Revelation and Scripture, and so to arrive at a deeper understanding of the book, by the help of the book itself, and by apprehending its connection with the whole history of redemption.

Our method will thus be a purely biblical one, and our task twofold. We have to show, first, that during the period in which our book, according to its own testimony, originated—during the Babylonian exile, a revelation, in form and contents like that of Daniel, was possible; nay, that according to the holy and free necessity of the love of God to his people, the paths of which it is our desire to trace, we are entitled to say not only possible, but necessary. And in the second place, we shall have to view closely the two most important and most frequently assailed prophecies of our book, that of the four monarchies of the world (chaps. ii. and vii.), and that of the seventy weeks (chap. ix.). There is scarce another instance in which the intimate connection between exegesis and criticism is so evident and palpable, and where spurious criticism can be so easily overcome by correct exegesis. For the text itself furnishes

the proof that these prophecies reach beyond Antiochus, and so removes the more plausible objection to the genuineness of the book, the supposition, namely, that its prophecies extend only to the supposed time of its composition, the period of the Maccabees.

Thus, while starting from the supposition of its genuineness, we seek, on the one hand, to understand the book in its peculiar and unique form, we shall, on the other hand, demonstrate the genuineness from the character of the book, from the text, and the interpretation furnished by itself. The parallels to the Revelation of John will suggest themselves in their proper place.

By pursuing this method, we trust that we shall be able, not only to treat the most important topics connected with the book, but that the truth, and, consequently, the genuineness of the book will become evident to the unprejudiced readers. To love and honour the divine, nothing is necessary but to look on it with a clear eye. Many, on whom the prejudices of our time exert too powerful an influence, should take to heart the words of Franz von Baader: "Only cleanse thine eyes better, come to this higher ground, this purer atmosphere, and thou shalt see the glory of God." Then shall we perceive that the Holy Scriptures, as they lie before us *de facto*, offer historical and moral problems which become only the more complicated the longer the unassisted reason attempts their solution; then shall we feel that there is a great Spirit to whom reverence is due; then shall we learn to think the wisdom of God great, and the wisdom of man small. And thus truth will gently exert on us her attractive and convincing influence, and taking all reason captive to the obedience of Christ, will endow us with true inward liberty (2 Cor. x. 5; John viii. 32).

FIRST SECTION.

THE

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF REVELATION, OR, THE STARTING POINT.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

IN order to gain a correct understanding of our book, we must start from where the first two verses place us. We find there the opposition between Israel and the heathen world-power, and more particularly that power in the stage of its development which commences with the Babylonian exile. The exile forms the historical basis of Daniel's prophecies, as the prophet himself most emphatically asserts in the introductory chapter, which opens with a statement of the beginning of the captivity, and concludes by recording its termination (i. 1, f., 21; comp. ix. 1, 2). It will be useful to review briefly the previous development of the theocracy, in order to gain a clear insight into the important relation in which this epoch stands to the whole history of revelation.

In calling Abraham from out of the vast sea of the nations, God had separated to himself a family, like an island in the midst of the ocean (Dan. vii. 2), and had chosen it to be his own property, in order to make it the priestly mediator of his revelations to humanity, and so to restore that connection between heaven and earth on which the future of the human race depends (Gen. xii. 1-3; Ex. xix. 4-6). In Egypt the family of Abraham grew into a nation; through Moses, the people received the law from God; under David and Solomon, they reached the culminating point of their development in the Old Testament, in a well organised political life. The essential character of the theocracy, as opposed to the heathen religion and the heathen power, manifested itself during the reign of these two kings so fully, that Israel was not only independent of the heathens, but had subjugated the surrounding nations. The period of David and Solomon is, therefore, in a peculiar sense, a type of the Messianic; and the prophecies of that glorious epoch in which there would appear in fulness and reality, what was shadowed forth in the external types of the Old Testament, are henceforth connected with David. But the decay began so early as the time of Solomon. It began with the division of the Jewish kingdom of God into two kingdoms, thereby losing the inward strength and compact unity with which it had opposed its foes. The northern kingdom of the ten tribes which had apostatised from the sanctuary of Jehovah in Jerusalem, and from the dynasty of the promise, sought strength at first in surrendering itself to heathenism. It joined Phœnicia and Syria against Juda, and committed adultery with idolatry and the worldly power. But whenever God's people becomes unfaithful, and seeks the alliance of the world-power, he makes use of that very power to chastise it. "He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption" (Gal. vi. 8). Ephraim had to experience this truth when, in the year 722 B.C., the Assyrians destroyed its political existence.

We find the same development in the kingdom of Juda, but

here more gradual, because in proportion as it had remained more faithful to Jehovah, so the house of Judah produced from time to time God-fearing kings. But Judah also was led astray, and committed whoredoms, even as Ephraim. From about the year 740 B.C., when Ahaz, not heeding the warning of Isaiah against Ephraim and Syria, turned to Assyria (Is. vii.), this better kingdom also was drawn into the circle of the world's movements. It surrendered itself to the Assyrians, to the Egyptians, therefore God at last called Babylon to destroy the Theocracy altogether. Nebuchadnezzar made three incursions into Judah. The first, under Jehoiakim (606 B.C.), reduced the Theocracy to a tributary of the Babylonian world power. Daniel was among the captives brought at that time to Babylon. At the second inroad (598), King Jehoiakim and the prophet Ezekiel were led into captivity. In the third (588), Nebuchadnezzar destroyed at last the holy city, brought the last Jewish king, Zedekiah, in fetters to Babylon, and thus the kingdom of Judah came to its end. From this time the independence of the people of Israel departed for thousands of years, for even their return from the captivity did not restore it, and afterwards it was regained but once, and that transitorily. On the whole, the people remained in dependence on the monarchies of the world, each of which handed down the Jewish people to its successor, till, finally, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the Jews were dispersed among all nations. From the beginning of the Babylonian exile, therefore, there was no more a Theocracy on earth. And since in Israel the political and religious elements are most intimately related, so the revelations of God, according to a necessary connection with the judgments which had begun to fall on the people, became ever less frequent, till at last there came a period of more than four hundred years unilluminated by the light of divine communications.

Thus a new stage in the history of the development of the Theocracy begins with the Babylonian captivity (which we may reckon from the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar), for the inde-

pendent existence of the Theocracy then terminated, a stage which may be designated as the rule of the powers of the world. The coming of this heavy visitation was itself a fulfilment of the word of prophecy. When the apostasy was spreading in both kingdoms, God raised up prophets to exhort the nation to repentance, and, should the people grow only the more hardened, to proclaim His impending judgment. This was the work of the prophets from Joel and Amos down to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who lived to see the exile. But, notwithstanding this terrible judgment, which only the most grievous sins had drawn down from heaven, Israel was, and remained, the chosen people, through whom God intended to execute His plans for mankind. The gifts and callings of God are without repentance (Rom. xi. 9), and for this reason He commissioned His prophets to proclaim that a period of salvation and blessing—the period of the Messianic kingdom—would follow the period of chastisement and judgment. Moreover, during the time of visitation itself, the people were not left without light and comfort from above. They received, by the mouth of Isaiah, words of the most refreshing, evangelical comfort (chap. xlv.—lxvi.), to strengthen their faith during the Babylonian captivity—words sent by that God whose bowels yearned within Him for His chosen servants, even while He afflicted them. Ezekiel, too, laboured among those who were carried away to the river Chebar. Thus Israel was not left in utter darkness at that time. But for the centuries that followed, yet further disclosures were received. The people of God were to pass through periods of still deeper affliction; and when the glorious salvation they expected did not appear after the captivity—when the voice of revelation ceased in the land, the fear might easily take hold of them that the Lord had given up His work and kingdom on the earth, and that the powers of the world were to triumph. “It was a heavy trial,” Calvin remarks, in the Introduction to his Commentary on Daniel, “when the Jews had to suffer an exile of seventy years; but, after their return to their own land, God delayed their final deliverance seventy pro-

phetic weeks, instead of seventy years. The delay was multiplied sevenfold. Surely, then, their hearts might fail them a thousand times, might even be nigh unto apostasy. For the promises of salvation, given by the prophets, were so glorious, that the Jews looked for the commencement of the state of perfect blessedness and salvation as soon as they should be delivered from the Babylonian captivity. Far from this, however, numerous calamities came upon them, and that, not only during a short time, but for more than four hundred years, while the captivity itself lasted but seventy, so that their redemption might well look like a mockery. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that Satan tempted many souls to apostasy, making them believe, as if God had been mocking them, by bringing them out of Chaldea into their own land. For these reasons, God showed His servant, in a vision, the numerous and heavy afflictions which awaited the chosen people. The servant of God, who was chosen to receive these new revelations, was Daniel.

It seems to me that, among all commentators, *Magnus Frederick Roos*, "the great investigator of Scripture, full of quiet depth," as Delitzsch calls him, has recognised more profoundly and clearly than any others, the turning-point which the captivity forms in the whole history of the divine kingdom, and its bearing on the principles that ought to guide the interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel. When pastor in Lustnau, near Tübingen, in 1771, he published an excellent work, *Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel*, which reach to the times of the New Testament; to which is added, a *Comparison with the Revelation of John*, according to Bengel's Exposition. In the very first paragraph of the Introduction, viewing "the kingdom of God, in connection with domestic and political institutions," he divides the history of the world into four great periods, 1. From Adam till the Exodus out of Egypt; 2. From the Exodus till the beginning of the Babylonian captivity; 3. From the captivity till the commencement of the millenium, or, as Roos erroneously assumes, (and Bengel likewise), the "two thousand years" (Rev. xx. 1-6)

4. From these two thousand years till the end of the world. It is to be observed that the third period, and its transitions to the fourth, is exactly the time embraced by Daniel's prophecy. This view of Roos may, at first sight, seem strange, but the proof and detailed examination which he gives in connection with this division, abound so much in suggestive views of Holy Scripture, that we cannot refrain from adding the entire chapter as an appendix. Compare, besides, on the importance of that period of the kingdom of God, which commences with the exile, Mich. Baumgarten, the Night Visions of Zechariah, i. p. 24, etc.

II. THE POSITION OF DANIEL.

I. THE POSITION OF THE PROPHET AT THE BABYLONIAN COURT.

The new revelation which the people of God required for the period beginning with the Babylonian captivity, was to teach them how to regard the powers of the world which they were to obey; to teach them their nature and purpose, and then to show them the relation in which the work of salvation which was to begin in Israel, stood to them. A new subject was thus given to prophecy, which, in the nature of things, could not have been given before the captivity, but which now forced itself, as it were, by an internal necessity.

But if, according to God's intention, a revelation was to be given concerning the powers of the world and their development, the prophet must needs take a different stand-point from his predecessors; for the Divine Word has always a historical starting point, and thus, its organ, is made fit to receive the divine revelation. Revelation does not fall from heaven like a written book, which one has but to take into his hands and read; but a man must first receive it into his living spirit, and afterwards write it down, so that it may be adapted to the necessities and the horizon of men. And, to qualify him for this work, his

historical position must be such that the word from above is not altogether strange to him, such that his whole situation may be, so to say, the human question to which revelation proclaims the divine answer. As the subject of revelation now was no longer as it had been in the times of the earlier prophets, Israel in its relation to the powers of the world, but the powers of the world in their relation to Israel, so the man of God who was chosen to prophesy of this, could not have lived among his own people, but, necessarily, at the very centre of the heathen world-power. For only there could he gain such a clear insight into its nature and development, as would fit him for receiving the revelation from on high. Thus Daniel's prophetic watchtower was erected beside the throne in Babylon; and, standing here, in and yet above the first world monarchy, he looked out into the farthest future, and discerned with prophetic eye, which God had opened, the changing shapes and events of coming kingdoms, in their relation to the people of God.

From tender youth to extreme age, for more than seventy years, the prophet lived at the Babylonian and Medo-Persian court (i. 1, 6, 21; x. 1). But more than this, he took part in the government of the state, in which he occupied a high official position (ii. 48; v. 29; vi. 29; viii. 27). He was thus enabled to gain an insight and knowledge of the organization of political affairs in the kingdoms of the world, and fitted to be the recipient of what, perhaps, I may be permitted to call, his political revelations. But he has likewise obtained the spiritual point of view. The experiences which Daniel made through the deep humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar, through Belshazzar's downfall, the rapid efflorescence, decay, and vanishing of the Babylonian monarchy, the miraculous deliverance of himself and his friends (chaps. iii.-vi.), all these events made on him a profound impression,—that the powers of the world are transitory, and the glory of the kingdom of God eternal.

Nor can we leave unnoticed the instruction he received in the wisdom of the Chaldean magi. For, it is evident, for example,

from the Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses, that the knowledge and arts of the heathen were not altogether without value. Was it not Chaldean magi who, led by the star, sought the newly born King of the Jews? a clear proof that they were not totally devoid of wisdom,¹ and also suggesting the question whether there was not a tradition among them traceable to their chief governor Daniel, who had received such wonderful revelations concerning the King of the Jews, even to the very *time* of His coming (ix. 24, etc.). The circumstance that he was instructed three years in the wisdom of the Chaldees, tended, at all events, to develop the high prophetic gifts which he possessed by nature, and to familiarise his mind with those mysterious regions (i. 4, 5, 17). A similar school was thus provided for Daniel to that which his Egyptian education was to Moses, or which the study of philosophy is for the theologian of our own day. Materially, it is true he had learnt nothing from the Chaldeans, but soon excelled them ten times in all matters of wisdom and understanding (i. 19, 20; 1 Cor. ii. 6, etc.).

And let us diligently remember how faithfully and conscientiously this true Israelite, in whom was no guile, kept himself, from his youth, unspotted from all heathen contamination, and the sincerity and single-heartedness with which he served God in circumstances of extreme difficulty, surrounded by most alluring temptations, nay, in the face of death itself (i. 8, etc.; vi. 1, etc.). He who is to receive or interpret divine revelation, must not feed on the dainties, nor drink from the intoxicating cup of this world. Daniel, with his three friends, stand out like an oasis in the desert, like a light in the darkness. This light shone bright with comfort to the people of God while they languished in exile; and the prophet to whom they looked as their inward and outward support in this time of calamity, became as dear and venerable a name to his compatriots as

¹ Comp. Lutterbeck, *die neutestamentl. Lehrbegriffe* i., p. 357, etc.

Noah and Job, who likewise stood alone in their godliness among a crooked and perverse generation, and in the midst of the judgments of God (Ez. xiv. 14, comp. xxviii. 3). But more than this; the light condemned the darkness of the heathen. Daniel spoke the truth to Nebuchadnezzar with all boldness and earnestness; and the powerful ruler humbled himself before the almighty and only true God, and to Him gave all honour (Dan. iv.). Yet, notwithstanding the high distinctions and honours he enjoyed at the heathen court, he clung to his people with his very heart of hearts; and how entirely and inwardly he lived in the sufferings and hopes of his people, what nothingness all the world was to him in comparison to the kingdom of God; of this the ninth chapter and the prayer it contains, are a most affecting witness.

Such a man was suited above every other, to become a pure organ for the divine revelation needed at the time. His political position formed, so to say, the body; the school of magicians in which he had studied, the soul; his mind strong in faith and nourished by the writings of the earlier prophets (ix. 2), the spirit of his prophecy, which only waited to be kindled by the spirit of revelation from above. So divine providence prepares its organs for divine revelation.

Daniel has been compared to Joseph, and justly. The one stands at the commencement, the other at the end of the Jewish history of revelation; they were both representatives of the true God and His people at heathen courts; both were exemplary in their pure walk before the Lord; both were endowed with the gift of bringing into clear light the dim presentiments of truth, which express themselves among the heathen in God-sent dreams; both were gifted with marvellous wisdom and insight, and, for this reason, highly honoured by the powers of this world. They represent the calling of Israel to be a holy people, a royal priesthood among the nations. The final end of the Old Testament Theocracy, to lead to one universal, is clearly shown forth by their history. Thus, also, they are types of Christ, the true Israel,

and types of the destiny of their nation, by which it would be a light to lighten the Gentiles, a destiny which we yet await in the fulfilment of the Apostle's words. Rom. xi. 12, 15. *Hegel*, in a well-known passage of his *Philosophy of History*, has pointed out, 'with great beauty and spiritual meaning, the significance of the two youths, Achilles and Alexander, the one standing at the entrance, the other at the end of Grecian history, and remarks, that the whole nature and life of the Hellenic people is mirrored in these two characters. Joseph and Daniel present a similar phenomena in the sacred history of Israel. The latter, in every respect, more visibly blessed than the former, an Alexander compared to an Achilles, is the most prominent figure and the greatest character, in the last centuries of the Old Covenant; the most excellent example of a true Israelite. Such a man was called to be the Apocalyptic Prophet of the Old Testament. And since we know that the prophet of the New Testament was the disciple whom Jesus loved, the circumstance that God has chosen two of the best men under the Old and New Covenant to receive and record his Apocalypses, must fill us with a deep reverence for their apocalyptic revelations.

II. THE POSITION OF THE BOOK IN THE HEBREW CANON.

We have seen that the prophecy of Daniel differs essentially from those of the earlier prophets; that, owing to his position, it must differ. In Daniel an entirely new world opens to our eye. "Even the student who has obtained an intimate acquaintance with the other prophets of the Old Testament, who has imbibed their spirit, who is familiar with their language, modes of conception, and various poetical forms, will feel himself here in a foreign land, and will find fruits which have ripened, not in Palestine, but in a totally different soil and climate"¹ And this accounts for the circumstance, that the collectors of the Old

¹ Eichhorn, *Einleit. in's Alte Testament* iv., p. 472.

Testament Canon have not placed Daniel among the other prophets. His peculiar position in the heathen court is reflected in his peculiar position in the canon.

Daniel is as essentially different from the other prophets, as the Apocalypse of John from the Apostolic Epistles. The prophetic books of the Old Testament have this in common with the epistles of the New, that they originated in the immediate wants of the people of God, and are therefore written primarily for their contemporaries. Prophets and apostles stand in the most intimate and real relation to Israel and the Church; their writings are the expression of this fact; they bear the impress of it. It is quite otherwise with Daniel and the apocalyptic writer of the New Testament. Far from being in immediate contact with the congregation, we find them isolated, the one at the court of a heathen power, the other on a lonely island rock (Rev. i. 9); they are alone with their God. They do not see and write exclusively, not even chiefly, for the Church of the time, but much more for future generations. This is manifest from their writings. They have a different purpose to serve; they bear a different character from the other prophetic or apostolic books, as will be shown more at length. This difference, hinted already by the Rabbies, and more fully pointed out by Witsius, who attributed to Daniel the prophet's *gift*, but not his *office*, naturally found its expression in the position of the two apocalyptic books in the canon. In the New Testament we do not find the writings of John arranged together like those of Paul; Daniel is separated from the prophets in the Old. As he lived among the heathen, he was not נביא (prophet) in the strict sense of the word; and, at least in later Jewish theology, the רוח ה' of the נביאים was distinguished from the רוח הקדש which was ascribed to the כותבים, i.e., the spirit of prophecy divinely inspired in a wider sense, as it may be ascribed to the Psalms, etc.¹

¹ Hengstenberg, Beitr. i. p. 28. Oehler, Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments, p. 93.

Thus Daniel could be placed only among the Hagiographa. The remark of Hävernicks deserves consideration. "The book appears in a collection which contains no other prophet. Hence we conclude that this position was assigned to the prophet deliberately. Were the book an interpolated one, it would, doubtless, have been smuggled into the collection of the prophets. Consequently, the position of the book in the canon, and the general fact of its being still received, are proof of its genuineness."¹

But, if we examine the canonical position of Daniel more closely, we find that it separates the historical books of the time after the captivity, that it is placed between Esther on the one side, and Ezra and Nehemiah on the other. Leaving out of consideration a more special reason which we shall afterwards mention, and which, probably, accounts for it, we conclude from this that the collectors regarded Daniel as the prophetic historian of the period of the kingdom of God, commencing with the captivity. This is exactly the view expressed in modern times by *Bengel*, when he calls Daniel the politician, chronologer, and historian, among the prophets, a view which commends itself to us as the correct and necessary one, if we but consider the historical constellation that marked the appearance of Daniel. If the words of the great Bacon of Verulam find application anywhere, it is here: "Prophecy is a kind of Historiography, but divine Historiography differs from human in this, that the narrative may either prevent or follow the events."

We have now to show how fitly the book corresponds, both in form and contents, to this historical position, and the task it involved. Let us first look at the contents of the book.

¹ Commentar, p. 39.

CHAPTER II.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.

I. INTRODUCTION AND DIVISION OF THE BOOK.

THE prophet prefixes to the first chapter a historical and biographical introduction, narrating how he was carried away into Babylon, his life at the Babylonian court, and the instruction he enjoyed for three years, in the wisdom and literature of the Chaldeans. The last circumstance is mentioned with immediate reference to the truth, that the only true God whom he faithfully served, vouchsafed to him an insight chiefly into dreams and visions, which far excelled all the sciences of the heathen magicians (v. 17, 20). Daniel appears here as the representative of his nation.¹ The political servitude, the exile of Israel, is mirrored forth in his position as an enemy led away into captivity; while the clear illumination given to him, and to him alone, must be regarded as showing the infinite superiority which the covenant people enjoyed in regard to religion and revelation, over all heathen usurpers. For this reason, the prophet purposely mentions several events of this kind, in which he stands opposed to the celebrated Chaldean sages (whom he regards here as the representatives of the heathen religion and wisdom in general), and in which they are utterly confounded before him (chaps. ii., iv., v.). Moreover, the fact that, by the divine wisdom imparted to him, he soon attained to the highest honours

¹ This answers the objection brought forward against the genuineness of our Book, from passages such as 1, 17-20, 9, 23, which contain praises of Daniel. Compare also *Hengstenberg's* valuable answer with reference to the prophet's person.—Beit. 221.

and dignities, even in a worldly political sense, is a type that, in future, the kingdom, power, and might, will be given to the holy people of the Most High (vii. 27). In this way, the personal history of Daniel forms not merely the historical starting-point, but the typical foundation of his prophecy. And for this reason, the following chapters (especially from iii.—vi.) contain several biographical notices of himself and his friends, inserted among the prophecies. "The prophets had always to experience, in themselves, and in their age, something of what they prophesied about future times; just as David felt much of the sufferings of Christ in His own person. Comp. Hos. i.—iii.; Joel i.; Jonah i., etc. The prophets became also types. Their prophecies grew intensely pathetic, not delivered and written on paper with cool reflection; and tribulation taught them to take heed of the word which came to them concerning the future.¹

The remaining eleven chapters form the two parts of which the book consists. The first, embracing chapters ii.—vii., represent the development of the powers of the world, viewed from a world historical point. The second (chap. viii.—xii.) shows us the development of the powers of the world, in their relation to Israel, especially in that future near the prophet's own age, and which preceded the coming of Christ in the flesh, foretold in the ninth chapter. This division of the book is of great importance to a right understanding of it. If we were to judge, from our present point of view, from which we can see only a partial fulfilment of the prophecies, we might be inclined to think that a full disclosure of the future was required only for the period preceding the advent of our Lord, since divine revelation was then to burst forth in new brightness. But, in the first place, it is a general characteristic of prophecy to look forward to the last days of complete fulfilment, since it is impossible to understand the individual facts in the organic history of salvation, except in their connection with the whole,—to understand them

¹ Roos, p. 44.

in their course, without regard to the final goal. Secondly, it must be borne in mind, that Israel, according to the words of the prophet, looked forward to the Messianic time, expecting not only what was realized at the first coming of Christ, but also the visible restoration of the kingdom, which even now we, too, are still expecting. What they needed, therefore, was primarily and chiefly a revelation concerning that time, and concerning so much of the history of the world as would elapse before it. The whole period into which Israel entered at the commencement of the captivity, and which has not yet terminated in our days, the period of the dominion of the powers of the world, from the downfall till the final restoration of the Theocracy, was the period, which was to be revealed by the light of prophecy. The first coming of Christ introduced no material change into this period of the world's dominion, for the kingdom of Christ had not as yet fulfilled its destiny, and become the kingdom of the world (John xviii. 36; Matt. iv. 8; and, on the other hand, Rev. xi. 15). A general survey, therefore, of the nature, development, and final destiny of the power of the world, had to precede the disclosures concerning the immediate future. Thus each of these two parts has its characteristic objects; and it is evident, even at this stage of the investigation, why the prophecy must needs be more special in the second part than in the first.

Daniel himself marked the two divisions very distinctly, by writing the first in Chaldee, and the second, as well as the introduction (chap. i.), in Hebrew. In the first part he used the language of the worldly power under which he lived; in the second, he used that of the people of God. Thus he signified that, in the one place, it was the history of the powers of the world; in the other, the history awaiting the people of God, which formed the centre of his prophecy. This not only accounts, simply and naturally, for the change of language, but it also strongly corroborates our division, and, consequently, our general view of the book.

Those who impugn the genuineness of our book, are, in the first place, unable to account for the circumstance of the two dialects, in general; and, secondly, for their occurrence in these definite chapters. From the time of the exile, the Chaldee-Aramaic dialect became more and more general among the Jews, and, in the age of the Maccabees, was the prevalent language.¹ An interpolator would certainly have written the whole book, in the holy language of the ancient prophets, in Hebrew. But, if he wished to write any portion in Aramaic, in order to be more easily understood by his contemporaries, he would much more naturally have chosen the second rather than the first part of the book for this purpose, as it had much more immediate and distinct reference to his own time, and was much more intended to influence the generation then living.

But the distinct line of demarcation, which the change from one language to the other draws between the two parts, is of still greater importance. The common division of Daniel, according to its contents, is different from our own; the division, namely, into two equal parts, each consisting of six chapters, on the ground that the first part contains history, the second, visions. For the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, in the second chapter, is recorded in a perfectly historical shape, and has a parallel, in the second dream, of the same thing narrated in the fourth chapter. And if the seventh chapter, containing the first of Daniel's own visions, were joined to the second part, it would give some confirmation to the view, according to which this, as well as the other visions of the prophet, refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, and this would naturally affect also the interpretation of the second chapter, so that the four monarchies would be regarded as extending only to Antiochus. But, the author himself has removed all grounds for such an hypothesis, by writing the seventh chapter in Chaldee, and thus clearly indicating that it belongs to the first part. He thus shows, in a manner not to be mistaken,

¹ Comp. Hengstenberg Beitr. 299, etc.

the method of his book, how it consists of two parts, different both in form and contents.

II. THE FIRST PART.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD IN GENERAL.

I. THE SECOND CHAPTER. THE FOUR MONARCHIES AND THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM.

The chief subject of the first part is, as we have already stated, the four world-monarchies, which, having succeeded each other, finally usher in the kingdom of God. This subject is presented to us in two visions, one of which opens (chap. ii.), the other closes (chap. vii.) the first part.

It is important and characteristic, that the person who first beholds, in a dream, the entire future development of the kingdom of the world, is not the prophet Daniel (though he afterwards interprets the dream), but the world's ruler, Nebuchadnezzar. It was from the first of its representatives, who had conquered the Theocracy, that the world-power was to learn its own destiny, and that it would in its turn be subdued, and subdued for ever by the kingdom of God. It may at first sight seem strange, that the world-ruler should be chosen as an organ of revelation. But, though the power of the world, when viewed from the stand-point of eternity, is a mere nothing, which at the end of days shall disappear, without leaving a vestige behind, yet, on the other hand, the position of a king of universal dominion is so important for so much of the history as lies on this side of the end, and for the world-historical realization of the Divine plan, that God calls him by the same names as are applied to the beginner and the finisher of the Theocratic king-

dom—David and the Messiah: “my servant,” “my shepherd,” “mine anointed,” “who fulfils all my work,” “whose right hand I have holden” (Jer. xxv. 9; Ez. xxviii. 12–15; Isa. xlv. 28; xlv. 1). This serves to explain why a revelation from on high was vouchsafed to a king, who, moreover, as such, reflects the Divine Majesty (Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6; Rom. xiii. 1, etc.). And for a ruler who stands without the kingdom of God, a dream is the only fitting and possible form of revelation; as we find it employed in the case of Abimelech, of Pharaoh, and others (Gen. xx. and xli.); and, besides, we must remember that the heathen world looked much to the importance of dreams in general. Yet, it is worthy of remark, that the heathen prince only received the dream, but is unable to understand it, either of himself, or by the assistance of his wise men. On the contrary, the dream but perplexes and torments him, and he cannot obtain tranquillity or clearness, until an enlightened Israelite offers him the key of interpretation. Thus heathendom is merely passive, while Israel remains active in divine things, so that here also power redounds to the “God of heaven,” and his peculiar economy of revelation alone. Perhaps the powerful impression made by this revelation and its accompanying circumstances on the mind of Nebuchadnezzar, was intended to alleviate the sufferings endured by the people of God in their captivity. But the dream of the king, and its interpretation, opened up to Daniel a glance into the future of the kingdoms of the world, disclosed to him a whole circle of visions, and thus prepared him for the reception of further and more special revelations; so that the event possessed for him the character of a preparatory education.

But, to come to particulars. God caused the world-power, viewed in its totality, to appear to Nebuchadnezzar, under the figure of a colossal human form, whose head of gold represents the Babylonian, whose breast and arms of silver the Medo-Persian, whose body and loins of brass the Greco-Macedonian, whose legs of iron, and feet, partly iron and partly clay, the

Roman empire, with its Germano-Slavonic offshoots.¹ In accordance with the general plan of the prophecy, those kingdoms only are mentioned which stand in some relation to the kingdom of God; but of these none is left out. "The establishment of the kingdom of God is the aim of His creation, the end of His government of the world. The kingdom of God is the invisible root which sustains and supports the kingdoms of the world—the invisible power by which the kingdoms of the world are smitten and crushed down. The duration, importance, and dignity of the kingdoms of the world, is fixed by their nearer or remoter connection with the kingdom of God. It would be utterly valueless to know beforehand the fate and history of all the kingdoms of the earth, which bear either a very distant or no relation whatever to the kingdom of God. For whatever history they may have, it is insignificant, since it exerts but a slight influence, or none at all, in delaying or advancing the last and final development of things, the crushing of the kingdoms of the world by the kingdom of God."²

The entire image which Nebuchadnezzar saw was broken in pieces by a stone, which, springing out from a mountain cliff without the aid of human hands, increased till it became a great mountain, filling the whole earth, and typified the kingdom of God.

The simple description of the last scene is of such divine grandeur and holy sublimity, that one feels it is no human

¹ Luther already in his time thought the clay suggestive of the transition of the empire from the Romans to the Germans, and that those truly were "Spain, France, England, and other portions," into which the kingdom branches out, like the foot into toes. Whilst Calvin erroneously understands the stone that smote the image to refer to the first coming of Christ, Luther remarks, that the fourth kingdom must remain till the last day. Roos also conceives the clay to signify the nations at the time of the universal emigration, and correctly infers, that the fourth empire is still existing. Comp. Preiswerk, *Morgenland*, 1838, p. 33, etc.; Hofmann *Weissag. u. Erfüll.*, i., p. 278, etc.; Gaussen, *Daniel le Prophète*, 2d edition, 1850, i., p. 150, etc. The more detailed proof will be given subsequently.

² Menken, *das Monarchieenbild*, Bremen und Aurich, 1809, p. 82.

thought, but a revelation from the sanctuary of heaven. "Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (v. 34). Where, among all the poets and historians of antiquity and modern times, is there a passage which, for simplicity and majesty, can be compared with these words? Even prophecy, in the days of her fairest bloom, and in her sublimest visions (e.g. Is. ii. 11, etc.; xl. 15, 17), never spoke aught more majestic. The return of the world-power is described in all its splendour; but the colossus of metal stands on weak feet of clay. All the glory of men, which seemed so precious and enduring, is in truth as worthless and ephemeral as chaff. While the kingdom of God,—which, compared with the wondrous colossus, was as insignificant and unheeded as a stone on the ground, but which is yet compact in itself, and by its unity differs from the world-power, in the manifold succession of whose forms lies the symbol of decay,—the kingdom of God will, at last, in a future which even to us is still a future, put a speedy end to all violent commotions of the world, and establish itself upon the earth, filling all things with its glory (comp. 2 Thess. ii. 8; Matt. v. 5; Rev. xi. 15; xx. 4). The relation between stone and mountain is the same as that between the kingdom of the cross and the kingdom of glory; at the same moment that the kingdom of God breaks in pieces the kingdoms of the world, it ceases to be *regnum crucis*, and becomes *regnum gloriæ*. The opposition in which the Divine view of the world stands to the human, the contrast between the biblical and the profane aspect of history (Matt. xvi. 23), is scarcely ever so strongly marked as here. As Jesus assumed the designation of His person—Son of Man—with reference to Dan. vii., so we can trace to our passage his fundamental ideas on the relation of the kingdom of heaven to the world, and see an express allusion to it in Matt.

xxi. 44, "On whomsoever this stone shall fall, it shall grind him to powder."

II. THE SEVENTH CHAPTER. CONTINUATION.

In the seventh chapter, Daniel receives a revelation on the same subject. The outward political history had been shown in general features to the worldly ruler; for by his position he was peculiarly and almost exclusively fitted to receive a revelation of this kind. But the prophet obtains more minute disclosures, especially on the spiritual and religious character of the powers of the world, and such as were best adapted to *his* position and *his* receptivity.

This difference of character in the revelation easily explains the difference of images. While in the second chapter they are taken from the sphere of the inanimate, which has only an external side, they are chosen, in the seventh chapter, from the sphere of the animate. Farther, as Nebuchadnezzar saw things only from without, the world-power appeared to him in its glory as a splendid human figure, and the kingdom of God in its humility as a stone; at first he beheld the world-power more glorious than the kingdom of God. Daniel, on the other hand, to whom it was given to penetrate further into the inner essence of things, saw that the kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding their defiant power, are of a nature animal and lower than human, that their minds are estranged from and even opposed to God, and that only in the kingdom of God is the true dignity of humanity revealed; and, accordingly, the kingdom of God appears to him from the outset, and in the very selection of images, superior to the kingdom of this world. For though the beasts excel man in physical brute force, and though measured by this standard he appears but a frail mortal, yet he has essential spiritual power. The colossal figure that Nebuchadnezzar beheld, represents mankind in its own strength and

greatness; but, however splendid, it presents only the outward appearance of a man. But Daniel, regarding mankind in its spiritual condition, saw humanity through its alienation from God, degraded to the level of reasonless animals enslaved by the dark powers of nature. It is only in the kingdom of God that man gains his humanity and destiny; it is only from on high that the living perfect Son of Man can come.

Passages like the eighth Psalm, taken in connection with the history of creation (Gen. i. 26-28), which forms their basis, show how vividly the Israelites were possessed with the consciousness of the superior dignity of our nature, and especially over the animal world, given to man by his covenant relation to God. And, as a counterpart to this, men are viewed as becoming like the irrational beasts whenever they do not come to God and take heed to His ways (Ps. lxxiii. 22; xxxii. 9; xlix. 21). Humanity is impossible without divinity; it sinks down to bestiality. For this reason we find the obstinate heathen nations represented as beasts, even before Daniel's time (Ps. lxxviii. 31); the Egyptian monarch is called 'the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers' (Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxii. 2), the lion among the heathen; comp. also Isa. xxvii. 1; li. 9. "An animal may be more powerful, stronger, and inspire more terror than any man, it may show much sagacity in its behaviour, but it looks always to the ground, hears no voice of conscience, and knows no relation to God. What truly elevates man is his humility, and his power of knowing the will of God which raises him above earthly objects. But the moment he says, like Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iv. 30), 'Is not this the great Babylon which I have built,' he loses morally his relation to God; he exalts himself, and all that is really lofty in him is destroyed, he becomes a beast. He may be very strong and very mighty outwardly; but what rightly elevates him, what is the noblest element in his character, is indisputably his capacity to remain in communion with God. But God also must remain unchangeably God, *i.e.*, if man is to retain his true dignity, he

must always feel himself subject to God. Whenever he ceases from this subjection, he yields his affections to objects lower than himself, and thus degrades himself."¹ We can only throw out the suggestion, that most profound philosophical thoughts on the difference between the heathen and the revealed religion are concealed under this figurative language. *Herder, Münther*, etc., have pointed out the peculiarly Babylonian character which the animal symbolism in Daniel bears, and the recent excavations among the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, contain so many confirmations of the book being written after the captivity, as they show shapes of animals by which we are involuntarily reminded of those occurring here, and which suggest the thought that an acquaintance with sculptures of this kind may have proved a psychological preparation for the visions in the seventh and eighth chapters. The discoveries at Nineveh have been recently applied for the elucidation of Nahum;² we hope and wish that the same service may soon be rendered to our prophet.

The four world-monarchies appear in the seventh chapter under the images of four beasts. The three first are the lion, the bear, and the leopard; the fourth is so terrible, that it cannot be compared with any single animal in nature. In those beasts to whose voracity Israel is delivered, there is a most striking fulfilment of the word which the Lord had spoken to His apostate people, by the mouth of Hosea: "Therefore I will be unto them as a lion; as a leopard by the way will I observe them. I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps, and will rend the caul of their heart, and there will I devour them like a lion: the wild beast shall tear them" (Hos. xiii. 7, 8; comp. Jer. v. 6; iv. 7; ii. 15). Many a time these words of God may have passed through Daniel's mind as he gazed on the Babylonian sculptures, which were, so to say, the

¹ Lectures on the Prophet Daniel, in nine evenings. Translated from the French. Düsseldorf, 1849, p. 32.

² Nahumi de Nino Vaticinium explicavit ex Assyriis Monumentis Illustravit. Otto Strauss. Berolini, 1853.—[Ta.]

ensigns of the power of the world; and now he saw their fulfilment. So there would be not only a natural, but also a spiritual preparation for the vision. On the other hand, the kingdom of God, after judgment has been pronounced on the powers of the world, appears in the shape of the Son of Man, who comes from above on the clouds of heaven, while the beasts rise out of the depths of the sea (John viii. 23).

If we look now at the monarchies separately, we observe that the second and third are briefly passed over, since they had to be described at length in the second part of the book. Nor was it necessary to say much about the first, for it was contemporary with the prophet, and a bare mention of its existence, such as he gives ii. 37, 38, was sufficient. The chief emphasis, therefore, falls on the fourth. But there is another and still deeper cause for this, which we must seek in the nature of prophecy itself. For it is a general and characteristic feature of biblical prophecy, that it puts into the clearest light those phases in which the essence of things is revealed, in which their true and innermost nature comes into fullest manifestation. Prophecy dwells chiefly on the *end* of the powers and factors about which revelations are given, because it is there that a long-preceding development reaches its consummation, and for the first time unfolds its true nature. This is especially applicable to our seventh chapter, which purports to reveal the innermost nature of the world-power, and in which, therefore, most emphasis is laid upon the fourth kingdom (ver. 7, 8, 11, 19-26). For it is in the fearful shape of the last beast, that the world-power will fully manifest that its whole nature is opposed to God, and we are prepared for this climax by the order in which the metals are mentioned in the second chapter, where they are successively of a baser nature. But as the interest which attaches to the four monarchies is led rapidly over the first three to centre in the last, so, for the same reason, in considering the last we are led to its final shape. In accordance with the whole character of this revelation, the second chapter treated of the historical and

political development to take place within the fourth monarchy, for we find two periods distinctly marked,—the iron, and that of iron and clay. The last development of this kingdom had not as yet become an object of special attention, but was merely indicated by the ten toes. In the seventh chapter, however, where the central point is the religious element and not the political, we do not find that feature particularly mentioned which was pictured in the second chapter, by the distinction between iron and clay; but the description hastens on to the representation of the ten horns (in which we recognise at the first glance the ten toes of the second chapter), and it introduces them merely to show how an eleventh has sprung up in their midst, a king in whom the full haughty hatred and rebellion of the world against God, His people, and His service, finds its representative. In the seventh chapter the distinction between iron and clay is omitted; in the second chapter there is no mention of this last antichristian ruler of the world. In this description of the last monarchy, the distinct and individual character of the two visions is most clearly manifested in the peculiar features to which each of them gives prominence.

The essential nature of the kingdom of the world appears concentrated in the fourth kingdom; the nature of the fourth kingdom, in like manner, in its last worldly ruler. Thus it is only at the end that the peculiar character of the world-power, the mystery of iniquity, is unveiled, and we recognise in the eleventh horn no other than he whom Paul calls "the man of sin," and "the son of perdition" (2 Thess. ii). Here, for the first time in the development of revelation, the idea of Antichrist is clearly unfolded, because, here for the first time the entire course of the development of the godless and God-opposing world is clearly surveyed down even to its very end. It is worthy of notice, moreover, how we are led in the descriptions of Daniel, to see in this man the complete evolution of the evil principle introduced by the fall. When his characteristic marks are mentioned (ver. 8, 20), eyes like the eyes of a man—the symbol of

wisdom—and a mouth speaking great things, a mouth which gives most iniquitous utterance to the inward revolt against God, we are reminded of Gen. iii. 5, where the serpent promises to man that his eyes will be opened, and that he will be like unto God, if he but rebel against the commandment. There we trace the beginning, here the consummation:—intellectual culture; but the heart and being in the most daring opposition to the living God—self-apotheosis.

But now, in the person of the Son of Man, the kingdom of God appears to take the place of the kingdom of the world. We are met at once by the question, Who is the Son of Man? Is he the people of Israel or the Messiah? In favour of the former view *Hofmann* and *Hitzig* can adduce the explanation contained in the text itself (ver. 18, 22, 27), that the angel mentions only the saints of the Most High, or the people of the saints of the Most High. But we must bear in mind, that the expositions annexed to the visions do not purport to give a complete explanation, but are merely intended to throw light upon those points more immediately necessary for the understanding of the prophecy, and intended only to meet a present want. They are not to take the place of a diligent search into the word of prophecy (1 Pet. i. 11), but to guide us to the right path. This principle is acknowledged in the case, for instance, of the explanation given about iron and clay, in chap. ii. 41–48, an explanation which certainly neither contains, nor was intended to contain all that was symbolized by that image. Now, in the passage before us, the immediate object was to alleviate the sorrow which Daniel felt for the fate of his people; and in the explanation, therefore, stress is naturally laid on that point. And even if we felt bound to adhere so strictly to the words of the angel as to consider the people to be intended, yet as *Hofmann* points out (p. 291), we could not conceive of them without their Messianic King. King and kingdom are quite as identical here as in the world monarchies of which Daniel is commanded to say to Nebuchadnezzar, “Thou art this head of gold” (ii. 38). But

this very parallel passage is much more in favour of the other view. The king is the representative of the kingdom, to whom the people are joined, and not he to the people. According to the biblical view, the head always takes precedence of, and includes the body, not the reverse. This applies particularly to the Messiah, who applies the name, Son of Man, to Himself. But our text contains two positions, which decide against the view of the two commentators we have mentioned. In the first place, the Son of Man came down from heaven; for no one will understand, with Hofmann, His coming with the clouds of heaven to signify His being borne from earth to heaven (comp. Matt. xxvi. 64); nor will any one adopt Hitzig's view, that the people of Israel is to come down from heaven. In the second place we find the saints themselves mentioned in the vision (ver. 21); if they are introduced in person, they cannot also be represented by the Son of Man. We must take the expression Son of Man, therefore, to designate the Messiah, and to designate His people only secondarily, and as represented by Him (comp. Gal. iii. 16, 28; 1 Cor. xii. 12). In this particular, also, the idea Son of Man corresponds to that other: Servant of Jehovah, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak.

It is quite in keeping with the universal horizon of Daniel's prophecy, that Messiah is not designated as the Son of David, but, in general, as the Son of Man; no more as King of Israel only, but as King of the world. The prophetic horizon has returned to its original extent, as it was in the Protevangel in Paradise. There, as now again here, all mankind—humanity—was within the field of prophecy.¹ As we have already seen in

¹ This universal character of apocalyptic prophecy is imitated, in a very external manner, in some apocryphal apocalypses, in which the revelations are introduced as given to the progenitors of the human race before the election of the peculiar people, as, for example, to Adam (in the Book of Adam, translated recently by *Drillmann*); to Enoch; to the Sibyl, said to be Noah's daughter-in-law, etc. *Lücke* advances this ingenious hypothesis concerning Jewish Sibyllistic (p. 81-89): He reminds us that among the Greeks the Sibyls represented the general natural power of prophecy as distinguished from the positive

the image of Antichrist, the final development and consummation of the principle of evil is shown, as in Gen. iii. ; and likewise, the Son of Man here corresponds to the seed of the woman there, and as it is promised of that seed that it shall bruise the serpent's head, destroy the evil principle, so the Son of Man appears here as the victor over that cosmical power which is opposed to God, and embodied in the beast. In the former prophecy, the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman ; in the latter, the beast and the Son of Man, are parallel antitheses. The connection of these two passages is more explicitly pointed out in the Apocalypse. For there the beast which, taken conjointly, corresponds to the four beasts of Daniel, and which represents the power of the world as a unity, is expressly drawn as a picture of the great dragon, the old serpent, the devil, and Satan, who seduces the whole world ; and this is quite in accordance with that fundamental view of John, that the devil is the prince of the world (Rev. xiii. 1, 2 ; xii. 3, 9 ; John xii. 31 ; xiv. 30 ; comp. Luke iv. 5, 6). Thus the beast which ascends from the sea, and reaches its full development in Antichrist, represents the devil, while the Son of Man, Christ, descending from heaven, represents God. In assuming the likeness of a serpent, the devil assumed the form of a beast ; in the Son of Man, God appears in the form of man. Man, by following the serpent, has given place to the animal element, has become bestial. God, therefore, must become man, so that man may cease to be beast-like. But whoever rejects God's help, and follows the beast, will be judged

priestly oracle. When the Egyptian Jews began to blend their ancestral religion with Hellenic elements for the sake of apologetic and missionary interests, they adopted the Sibyl as a representative of prophecy of the Universal Antediluvian religion among the polytheistic nations. Then Hellenistic Universalism penetrated also into the sphere of apocalyptic prophecy, and referred it to the universal primeval era, in which Israel was not yet separated from the Gentiles, and in which, consequently, the Sibyl of the heathens may as well be quoted as the patriarchs mentioned in Genesis. This accounts, also, for the predilection of those syncretistic times for apocalyptic writings. As high as the canonical gospels stand above the apocryphal, so far do Daniel and St John tower above the productions of their imitators.

by the Son of Man, just because he is the Son of Man (John v. 27).¹

But it now remains for us to view the picture of the Messiah presented by Daniel, in its relation to the prophecy which immediately precedes it. From the view we have already given of the history of Israel, it will appear to the careful reader that, in the development of the Old Testament Theocracy, the Babylonian captivity is the exact counterpart to the epoch of David. This one epoch is the culminating point of the glorious exaltation of the people of the covenant, the other of their deepest humiliation. Hence the types with which the kingdom of David has furnished Messianic prophecy, disappeared at the time of the exile, which substituted others in their place.² These types are twofold, as would be expected from the nature of the case. On the one hand, the sufferings of the people are reflected in the picture of the suffering Messiah; and this is the basis of the prophecy of the servant of Jehovah, which Isaiah beheld in his visions (xl.-lxvi.).³ To this class, also, the ninth chapter of our book belongs. On the other hand, in this very time of suffering, the truth that in the kingdom of God the Cross is the only way to glory, shines forth more brightly than ever before, and there is a lively hope that after "the scattering of the power of the holy people" is accomplished (Dan. xii. 7), the kingdom of God will be set up among men with a power and extensive-

¹ Comp. J. Richers, *die Schöpfung-Paradieses-und Sündfluthgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1854, pp. 321, 333.

² Comp. Stier, *Jesaiah, nicht Pseudojesaiah*, pp. xxxiv., xxxvii.

³ Compare *W. Haffmann*, *die göttliche Stufenordnung des Alt. Test.* (deutsche Zeitsch. für Christ. Wissenschaft, February 1854, p. 62). "Even before the exile there is a tone of suffering of the faithful servants of God, the prophets, pervading the prophetic word. The law is broken, the curse therefore impending, the law exercises now its last and most lasting influence, conviction of sin. Even the Servant of Jehovah, the highest Blossom of Theocracy, the Anointed One, cannot enter into glory but by sufferings. He bears the sins of His people, the old curse of the transgressed law, but He removes it by His vicarious obedience. The Messiah is the Lamb of God; a prophecy till then almost unheard of in Israel."

ness previously unknown. This is the prophetic vision of the Son of Man (Dan. vii.). All these expressions are equally significant. Servant of God denotes zealous and patient obedience to God; Son of Man refers to the ground on which man is to obtain again that original destiny and dignity as head of creation, which was conferred upon him (Gen. i. 26-28). Both designations of the Messiah have taken the place of the Davidic type. The Messiah is no longer represented as the Theocratic King coming to the covenant people, but He appears a centre of unity both for the covenant people and the Gentile world. We see here a similar progress to that which took place in the times of the apostles from Judaism to Christianity. It will be easily seen that this progress is intimately connected with the historical position of the people during the captivity. Even in the picture of the Messiah during the Davidic period, the two sides of suffering and victory begin to appear prominently. The Messianic psalms are divided into psalms of humiliation and of triumph. And what we here see in its germ, we afterwards see fully developed at the time of the captivity. On the one side the atoning power of Messiah's sufferings is disclosed (Isa. liii., and Dan. ix.); on the other there is revealed that dominion of the Messiah which, in the development of universal history, is given to Him over the individual kingdoms of the world (Dan. ii. 7). Prophecy has thus gained not only in depth, but in breadth of view.

Turning now from the picture of Messiah contained in our vision, we remark that, as regards the prophecy about the powers of the world, Daniel has a remarkable predecessor in the prophet Balaam. As Joseph is a type of Daniel in his political and religious position, so Balaam is a type of him as a prophet. As, at the commencement of the independent history of Israel, we see this prophet who predicted blessings against his will, and whose appearance is so exceedingly instructive for the psychological student of prophecy, so we see Daniel, in a period which concludes, for a time, the history of Israel as an independent Theocracy.

Israel had but recently been delivered out of Egypt, and entrusted with the divine law. It had thus but recently become a people, and the people of God. As they pursue their journey to take possession of their land, they come in contact for the first time with heathen nations, with Edomites, Amorites, Moabites, etc. Balak, king of the Moabites, calls on this marvellous man, Balaam, to curse the people of the Most High. The prophet is an Aramæan, dwelling on the banks of the Euphrates, and thus placed, from the outset, in the land of Asiatic world movements. But, like Melchisedek, he is endowed with the knowledge of the true God, and he is at the same time gifted with extraordinary prophetic power. All these features reappear in the person of Daniel, and the same historical and personal situation forms a substratum for similar prophetic phenomena; with the natural difference that in Balaam we find only the germ and rude outlines of what is spread before our eyes by Daniel in grand and finished pictures. Israel in conflict with the heathen world is the point round which the prophecies of both centre. Standing beside Balak on the summit of Mount Peor, Balaam looks down on the Israelitish camp (Num. xxiii. 28; xxiv. 2); he sees, by the Spirit which came upon him, a kingdom rising from this blessed nation which lies before him like a couching lion, a kingdom which shall "eat up the nations" (xxiv. 7, 9), "smite the corners of Moab," conquer Edom, take Amalek for a possession, waste the Kenites (ver. 17-22). Israel shall triumph over the surrounding heathen. But Balaam has recognised the significance of Israel for the heathen world, and his spiritual vision reaches into remoter epochs (xxiii. 8-10; xxiv. 8, 9). He sees the mightier world-powers of the future, of the East (Asshur, ver. 22, 23), as well as of the West (Chittim, ver. 24). Nothing can stand before them. Eber, and with Eber Israel, shall be afflicted of them. "Thus the eye of Balaam was opened to penetrate even into that depth of the future in which the people of Jehovah would be subjected and given over to the powers of the world." Nor does even this limit bound the horizon of his

vision. He sees also the end of these mighty world-powers. Ships from Chittim must afflict Asshur; the West must afflict the East; nor can the Western power itself escape its destined ruin. The prophecy of the heathen seer tragically closes with this glance at the wreck of all heathen power. He is not permitted even to predict clearly that Israel shall survive all the revolutions of the powers of the world, though this is plainly implied in the prophecy he had to utter before in ver. 8 and 9. Have we not here the basis and outline of the prophecies of Daniel? The powers which Balaam designated by the ancient names of Asshur and Chittim (Gen. x. 11; xxii. 4), Daniel, the contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, sees in the two Eastern and the two Western kingdoms, Babylon and Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome; and he sees also before and after them, this Israel, "the people that dwell apart, and whom God hath not cursed." If the opened eyes of Balaam pierced so far into the future, how much farther the prophetic glance of a Daniel.¹

We are thus led to see, in Daniel, not only a further development of the Messianic prophecies as they existed in the centuries immediately preceding him, but also a connection between him

¹ Compare *Baumgarten*, Theolog. Comment. zum Pentateuch ii., 375-78. *Hofmann*, Weiss. und Erfüll, i., 153. *Hüvernich*, Einleit. ins A. T. i., 2, p. 507-10. It is natural that criticism, which does not know and recognise the spirit of divine prophecy, should be sorely puzzled by the few concluding words of Balaam. The mention of Assyria might be managed, by assuming the whole passage to be written in the Assyrian time. But "the ships of Chittim, which in Maccabees are referred to Alexander the Great, are *enigmatic*." De Wette confessed formerly, that it seemed a real prophecy was contained here. *Hitzig* and *Ewald*, assuming the Assyrian date of the prophecy, refer it partly to insignificant events, the former to an incursion of the Greeks into Cilicia during the time of Sennacherib, the latter to a similar event during that of Salmanassar; both events being mentioned incidentally by Eusebius and Josephus. Much simpler are the expedients of *Bertholdt*, *V. Lengerke*, and *Bleek*, who maintain that the verse is an interpolation, probably of the Maccabean times. Thus the resemblance with our prophet, the almost verbal coincidence with Dan. ii. 30, would be easily explained.

and times much more remote. What Balaam saw of the powers of the world, and their relation to Israel, in the commencement of the holy national history, found its consummation in the disclosures vouchsafed to Daniel; and in the revelations of Daniel concerning the Christ and the Antichrist is consummated the prophecy which God himself had spoken at the commencement of the history of the human race concerning the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman. We regard this relation in which Daniel stands to his predecessors as a strong internal evidence of the genuineness of the book; an external evidence, quite as strong, is afforded by his successor, Zechariah, who, soon after the time of Daniel, clearly presupposes a knowledge of the contents and details of Daniel's prophecies about the powers of the world. For *Hofmann* has conclusively proven, and *Baumgarten* has more fully elaborated his view, that the four horns and carpenters, as well as the four chariots of Zechariah's vision (Zech. i. 18-21; vi. 1-8), refer to the four world monarchies of Daniel. It is only in the light of this connection that the prophecy concerning Javan or Greece (Zech. ix. 13, etc.), can be properly understood.

Before we proceed further, we must make a remark about the kingdom of the world, although we must refer the reader to a subsequent part of the book for a fuller statement. "These kingdoms," Roos remarks (p. 65), "are of God (Dan. ii. 37; Rom. xiii. 1), and therefore legitimate and worthy of respect." But how can this be? Is it not a contradiction, if holy Scripture teaches with such emphasis, "that the powers that be are ordained of God," and yet distinctly opposes the chief empires of the world, the most important of the "higher powers," to the kingdom of God, and characterises them as the concrete manifestation of the God-opposed principle? The Word of God is free from error in general, and free, therefore, from every illusion, every false and vain hope. It knows and prophesies clearly that all gifts of God, even the noblest, will be polluted and corrupted in the hands of fallen man. The world

itself is God's work, and exists continually in Him, for He upholds it, and yet this same world lieth in wickedness, i.e., in the devil (Coloss. i. 17; Acts xvii. 28; 1 John v. 18, 19). And what is still more startling, the Church of the Old, and even of the New Covenant, presents the same contradictory aspect. She is the wife of Jehovah and of Christ, and yet becomes a harlot! So it is with states and kingdoms on the earth. Their origin and nature are divinely appointed; but they appear in history, and in the final result to which their development leads, in the service of sin, of destruction, of rebellion against God. Herein consists the inconceivable patience and long-suffering of the Ruler of the world, that He leaves His gifts for thousands of years in the hands of men, and yet beholds how they are contaminated, defiled, caricatured by them, abused to purposes the most opposite to His intentions. He permits this for the sake of His elect. In His patience He suffers State and Church to endure, until, partly under the protection of these His economies, partly under the pressure of their own evil administrations, the congregation of His true children shall be gathered from among all nations, for those times of refreshing when the Lord himself shall rule and judge the nations, and the saints with Him.

Daniel was taught, by the events of his own life, by what process the kingdoms of the world assume a character so hostile to God; and in order that we also may be instructed in this, the wonderful and significant events of his life which we are now about to consider, are interwoven with his prophecies.

The world-power which has the sway over all that is visible, and which looks on the visible as the real, deifies itself, and rebels haughtily against the living God and His saints. It is full of overbearing courage, and offends, imputing this its power unto its God (Hab. i. 11, 16).

III. REMARKABLE EVENTS IN DANIEL'S LIFE.—CHAP. III.—VI.

Between the visions of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel, the first part of our book contains four narratives out of the life of the prophet. We read in the third chapter the wonderful deliverance from the fiery furnace, vouchsafed to his three friends, who would not worship the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar. The fourth chapter is an edict of Nebuchadnezzar, and contains a second dream which he had, a dream relating to himself, and fulfilled in himself. His haughtiness is punished by a visitation of insanity, and he sinks to the level of the beasts; but after he has undergone his punishment, his human reason returns to him, and he attains to even greater power than before, for which he gives glory to the true God. The opposition between bestial and human life, which we meet in this chapter, suggests important thoughts preparatory to the exposition of the symbolism of the seventh chapter, concerning the beasts and the Son of Man, and essentially serves to corroborate our view of that passage; it throws light particularly on the remarks we made on chapter vii. 4, about the first beast. The fifth chapter narrates the haughty pride of the Babylonian king, Belshazzar, at the banquet, the inscription which appeared on the wall, its interpretation by Daniel, and the quick fulfilment of his prophetic words in the judgment which burst upon the king on that very night. Finally, the sixth chapter concludes the series of wonderful events in the prophet's life, with the story of his miraculous rescue from the lions' den, into which he had been thrown because he continued, in spite of a royal prohibition, to pray to his God.

It is easy to see that as chapters ii. and vii. go together, so do chapters iii. and vi., and iv. and v. And, indeed, these two middle pairs of chapters (iii. and vi., iv. and v.), have a symbolical significance independent of their historical value. The first pair shows us, by the example of Daniel and his three friends, how wonderfully near God is to His saints, especially when,

faithfully adhering to their Master, they seem to be crushed by the world-power. The second pair present the two kings of the first monarchy, as an example of how God can suddenly humble the world-power in the very height of its insolence and rebellious scorn, and of how little reason the faithful have to dread its might. We notice here, also, a progression from the fourth chapter to the fifth, for the world-power advances from mere self-glorification in the former, to open and declared opposition to the living God in the latter. Nebuchadnezzar demands homage to be paid to his image (iii.); he boasts of his great power and glory (iv.), but in neither case does he exhibit any direct hostility to God. Belshazzar, on the other hand, blasphemes the Lord, by polluting the holy vessels from the temple of Jerusalem (v.), and Darius the Mede, forbids prayer to be offered to Him. There is a similar, and most instructive progression, in the conduct of God's believing people. We are taught, by the example of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, that we dare not yield positive homage to the power of the world, by worshipping the image of the world; we are taught, by the example of Daniel, that we dare not yield negative homage to it by neglecting to worship God.

In all these events the glorious power of the Most High is manifested against the world, and for His saints, and what is here represented in the narrow frame of individual historical sketches, the second and seventh chapters bring before our view in grand world-wide tableaux. Both serve to strengthen the faith of God's people, and to illumine the darkness of those times when the powers of the world prevail. And the wonderful charm which these narratives possess, and prove themselves to possess, by the interest they excite in the mind of a child, is peculiarly fitted to form a substratum to the profound impression of the two visions, and to heighten their emphasis and effect. The true Israelite, and the believer in general, are to receive, during the entire period of worldly power, deep impressions of the nothingness of the world, and the glory of God and His saints, in their

very tenderest childhood (comp. Gen. xviii. 19). If the superficial eye can detect but little vital power, either moral or religious, in the symbolic images of the visions contained in our book, it can see much less in the striking characters of Daniel and his friends, and the powerful instructive characters of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar.

Keil's remarks on the miracles which occur in these narratives deserve attention : "The writers of Holy Scripture do not narrate every-day events. Their purpose is to testify of the revelation of divine grace and omnipotence. Accordingly, in the book of Daniel, only those events are recorded in which the God of Israel manifests His sovereign power to the proud heathen rulers of the world, to whom it has been necessary His own peculiar people should be delivered to be punished for their sins, events by which He forces them to confess and honour Him as the God of heaven and earth, to acknowledge that He (and not their idols), rules the world, that He has power to uphold His servants, to abase, and punish the pride of the high and lofty ones of the earth. The miracles are wrought for Daniel's and his companions' sake ; they tend to Daniel's glory. The reason of this is to be sought in the position which Daniel was called to occupy, viz., on the one hand, at a time when God could not manifest His glory in His people as a body, to represent that people, in his own person, before that King of Babylon who deemed himself almighty ; and, on the other hand, to represent before the heathen, and at the highest court of the heathen world-power, the Theocracy which, outwardly, had fallen a prey to the power of the Chaldeans, as well as to labour, by his presence, for the preservation of God's people, and their return to their own land. It was necessary that the miracles should assume a powerful and imposing character, in order to impress the powerful representatives of heathenism ; and that they served this purpose, is shown by the termination of the exile, and especially by the edict of Cyrus (Ezra i. 1-4), which does not limit itself to a bare permission to the Jews of returning to their own country, but

expressly ascribes honour to the God of Israel, as the God of heaven, and commands the building of His temple."¹

III.—THE SECOND PART.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE KINGDOM OF THE WORLD IN THEIR MORE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

The first part of our book throws a prophetic light over the whole future, as far even as that remote time when the people of God shall be gathered again and form a visible kingdom on the earth. But this lies in a far off distance ; the very first of the four world-monarchies was yet in existence. Israel, therefore, must now receive disclosures concerning the events which more immediately await them, for these events will be a prelude of the final evolutions of their history. Antichrist, as well as Christ, has a more immediate future ; and it was particularly necessary that special prophecies should be given to the people of God for the times then approaching—the five centuries between the exile and the advent—since it was a period during which they would be given up for a prey to the Gentiles, and in which salvation would not be fully manifested to comfort their hearts.

These disclosures are contained in the second part of Daniel. We find here, also, two visions which correspond with one another, one beginning, the other concluding this portion of the book (chap. viii. and x.-xii.). These visions describe the development of the power of the world and the Antichrist which would arise from it in the following centuries. Between them is inserted the ninth chapter, which reveals the future of the Messiah, and the people of the covenant at the end of the half-millennium, in relation to those images of the world.

¹ Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 459.

I. THE EIGHTH CHAPTER—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

The eighth chapter describes, by two new animal symbols—a ram and a he-goat—the third and fourth world-monarchies (the Medo-Persian, and Graeco-Macedonian), which were to rule over Israel after the downfall of Babylon—an event that Daniel outlived. Both are here mentioned by name (ver. 20, 21; comp. x., 13, 20; xi., 24), as expressly as the Babylonian kingdom previously (ii. 37-38). It is only the fourth monarchy, the Roman, which is not mentioned by name. Is not this circumstance an unsought-for proof of the higher antiquity of our book? Daniel lived to see the Persian kingdom. It appears from the Greek names of musical instruments, which occur in our book, that even at that time Greece had become known to the East; and, indeed, it is also evident from the entanglements between the Persians and Greeks, which happened soon after Daniel's death, and led, in the course of a few decennia, to world-famed wars and battles. But the chief reason why the attention of Daniel and Israel had to be turned to Greece, was, that the Old Testament Antichrist was to proceed from that power. Thus, we can see why the angels in the passages quoted, mention the name Javan, while Rome, belonging to the West, which is put in the background of the vision, remains unnamed.

For the same reason our vision gives more prominence to the Greek empire, and to the last shape which that empire assumes in the little horn, just as is the case with the Roman empire in the seventh chapter. There is but a brief description of the ram with his two horns, the Medes and Persians. The he-goat has at first only one proud horn, Alexander the Great, who comes to his end in a hasty triumphal march from West to East, to the kingdom of Persia. In the place of this great horn four smaller arise, the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander, Macedonia, Asia, Egypt, Syria. Out of one of these, the last named, there proceeded finally a little horn, a king, whose enmity

towards the Most High, His service, and His people (the host of heaven), is described with features similar to those of Antichrist in the seventh chapter.

This king is Antiochus Epiphanes. With a stubbornness approaching monomania, he entertained the plan of introducing the worship of Olympian Zeus over all his empire, to which Palestine also belonged; and "as he identified himself with that god, he wished ultimately to make his own worship universal" (comp. 1 Macc. i. 41 etc.; 2 Macc. vi. 7).¹ He tried to extirpate every other worship with fanatical, often with infatuated zeal; and hence instead of Epiphanes, he was called Epimanes. He abolished the worship of Jehovah in Jerusalem, and substituted the worship of idols. His enterprise was all the more dangerous in that he was met by a hellenising party in Israel itself, who had heathenish tendencies (1 Macc. i. 12, etc.; 2 Macc. iv. 9, etc.; comp. Dan. xi. 30, 32). Thus Antiochus Epiphanes, threatened the gravest peril to the holy people and to revealed religion, and, by consequence, to the existence of a Theocracy on earth. Nothing in the history of the sufferings of Israel from the power of the world, can be compared with the suffering inflicted by Antiochus. For none of the previous worldly rulers who had subjugated the people of the covenant, interfered essentially with their religious worship; but, on the contrary, as appears from the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, had protected and honoured them in many ways in the performance of their national worship. As, for instance, Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iv. 31-34), Darius the Mede (Dan. vi. 27, 28), Cyrus (Ezra i. 2-4), Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra vii. 12; Nehem. ii. 18), and according to Josephus (Arch. xi. 8), Alexander the Great also. It was therefore necessary that special prophetic announcement should prepare the people for Antiochus, so that they might be forewarned and forearmed against his attacks and artful machinations. Nor did these pre-

¹ Wieseler in Herzog's Realencyklopädie für protest. Theol. u. Kirche i., p. 384.

dictions remain without fruit ; for we may regard the glorious struggle of the Maccabees, so far as it was a pure and righteous one, as a fruit of our book (comp. 1 Macc. ii. 59).

Antiochus, in his " self-deifying fanatical haughtiness" (Wieseler), and his enmity against God and divine worship, is very properly the type of Antichrist—the Antichrist of the third monarchy, and of the Old Testament time. " All former teachers," says Luther, " have called and interpreted this Antiochus a figure of the final Antichrist ; and they have hit the right mark." A clear light is thus thrown on the relation of the second part of our book to the first, and more especially of the eighth chapter to the seventh. There is a similar typical relation between Antiochus and Antichrist, as between the destruction of Jerusalem and the coming of the Son of Man, in the eschatological discourse of Christ (Matt. xxiv.). The Antichrist of the Old Testament stands in the same relation to the Antichrist of the New, as the judgment on the Church of the Old Testament to that on the Church of the New. And this typical character is indeed according to a general law of prophecy, which is clearly illustrated in the two examples we have mentioned. In the same way as Jesus illumines the two events He foretells, by viewing one in the light of the other, so must the seventh and eighth chapters of Daniel be viewed together. The two pictures, of the enemy out of the third, and of the enemy out of the fourth monarchy, touch at many points, and illustrate each other ; so that the eighth chapter serves for the elucidation of the seventh, and the seventh again for the elucidation of the eighth. The people of God receive the most complete instruction about Epiphanes, in that single feature, to which prominence is given, that he appears as a type of the last Antichrist. Thus they are distinctly pointed to the magnitude of the threatening danger, and furnished, on the one hand, with an earnest warning of the deceitfulness of the seducer ; on the other, with the consolation that he cannot escape the judgment destined to overtake him. And in the same manner as Israel was enabled to understand

the *type* of the Antichrist by the *picture* of the Antichrist himself (chap. vii.), we are justified in pursuing the reverse method, and in forming a clearer and more complete conception of the last enemy, whose coming we expect, from the delineation of Antiochus. We have here the example of the apostle for our precedent, who, in 2 Thess. ii. 4, paints the Man of Sin with colours which are taken from Dan. xi.

II. CHAPTERS X.—XII. CONTINUATION.

The vision of the eighth chapter is described more fully and circumstantially in the second revelation, contained in chapters x.—xii. These chapters bear the same relation to the eighth as the seventh to the second. The prophecy itself is contained in the eleventh chapter, the tenth forming the prologue, the twelfth the epilogue.

The tenth chapter opens to us marvellous glimpses into the invisible spiritual world, which forms the background of the world's history. Nor is this without analogy in Holy Scripture (Job i. 7, ii. 1, etc.; Zech. iii. 1, 2; Jude 9; Rev. xii. 7, etc.); but nowhere else are the revelations so clear and comprehensive. The general truth, that the angels are ministering organs of the Divine providence and government, is frequently, and in detail, asserted and proved by Holy Scripture, but above all, in the two Apocalyptic books, in which the curtain that hides from us the invisible world is drawn aside. The Scriptures recognise the efficacy of angels in the whole life of nature, even in ordinary and regular natural phenomena (John v. 4; Heb. i. 7; Rev. vii. 1-3, xiv. 8, xvi. 5). And not only in nature, but in history also, for which our chapter is the classical passage. We see here individual angels standing at the head of individual kingdoms of the world; we see opposed to them, at the head of the Israelitish Theocracy, Michael, one of the first princes. In alliance with him, and opposed to the spirits of the world, there

is another angel, whom Hofmann¹ designates as the good spirit of the heathen world-power, whose object is to promote the realization of God's plan of salvation in the heathen world. It is natural that this angel should be sent to reveal to Daniel the fate which the powers of the world were preparing for the people of God. He lets the prophet catch a glimpse of the invisible struggles between the princes of the angels, in which it is decided who is to exert the determining influence on the worldly monarch, whether the god-opposed spirit of this world, or the good spirit, whose aim it is to further the interests of God's kingdom. We are wont to speak in a spiritualising way of a struggle between the good and the evil spirit in man; Holy Scripture teaches us to regard such a struggle as real and substantial (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 13-15; 1 Kings xxii. 22). The Satanic influences of which we have more particular knowledge, through the language of Jesus and his apostles, are essentially not different from this. The liberty of human actions is not hereby taken away; for the spirits exercise no compelling influence on men's hearts, and their chief activity consists probably in the arrangement of outward events. The question about the relation of the Divine government to human liberty, rather loses than gains in difficulty, when we take the element of angelic ministry into consideration.

That glorious angel who appears to Daniel, tells him, that for twenty-one days he struggled with the angel at the head of the Persian monarchy, and that finally, by Michael's help, he subdued him, and obtained superiority over the Persian king. But he informed him also, that he had to enter upon a further struggle with that Persian angel, and that this would be succeeded by one with the Grecian, which, as he lets him dimly see, would not, for all the help of Michael, be equally victorious. These events in the world of angels will be better understood, when viewed in connection with the revelations concerning the

¹ Weiss. u. Erfüll. i., p. 312. Schriftbeweis i., p. 287, etc.

future which follow in the eleventh chapter. While the Persian kingdom endures, the spirit of the world-power, hostile to God and His people, will be restrained and subdued, so that the Persian kings will follow the good spirit, and be favourable to Israel. But with the Greek kingdom there will come a change. During its dominion the people of the covenant will have to suffer much from the wars of the Ptolemies and Seleucidae; and it is out of this kingdom that the arch-enemy shall arise.

The prophecy of the eleventh chapter consists of three parts. There is, first, a brief description of the Persian and Greek monarchies, ver. 2-4; then follows a sketch of the most important struggles of the Ptolemies and Seleucidae (ver. 5-20); while a detailed and circumstantial picture of Antiochus Epiphanes forms the conclusion (ver. 21-45). We see that all the visions which refer to the power of the world correspond to the outlines presented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (chap. ii.), and are only a further development of the ground-plan there, carried out with ever increasing fulness and minuteness. The seventh chapter contains, first, a further description of the fourth monarchy, showing how the Antichrist proceeds from the ten toes or horns. While the preceding outlines are thus filled up, they prepare the way for the subsequent prophecies; for the description of Antiochus in the eighth chapter is based on the model of the Antichrist delineated in the seventh. There is yet another relation, in reference to the third monarchy, in which the seventh chapter is a development of the second, and the eighth the final consummation. The fourfold division of the Greek kingdom, which does not yet appear in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, is symbolized in the four heads and four wings of the leopard (vii. 6), while it is still more distinctly revealed in the eighth chapter, in the four horns of the he-goat, which grow up in place of the one great horn. There is thus a progress from the seventh to the eighth chapter, parallel to that we already saw from the second to the seventh, in the description of the Roman kingdom. For while in the seventh chapter the little horn of Anti-

christ appears between the ten horns of the fourth beast, which are identical with the ten toes in the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream ; in the eighth the little horn of Antiochus rises out of the four horns of the he-goat, which are identical with the four horns of the leopard. Exactly in the same way the eleventh chapter is an enlargement of the eighth. The disclosures which the latter contains about Persia and Greece, and the fourfold division of the great Greek kingdom, are only mentioned to be used as a connecting link and starting-point for the prophecy, which now unfolds the future of Egypt and Syria, the Ptolemies and Seleucidae, the kings of the South and the kings of the North. "Daniel," says Luther, "now leaves the two kingdoms of Asia and Grecia, and takes up the two of Syria and Egypt. For the Jewish country lieth between these two, and hath Syria on the north [towards midnight], and Egypt on the south [towards mid-day], and these two had an everlasting contest with each other. The Jews, therefore, placed thus between the door and the hinge, were sorely tormented on both sides. Now they fell a prey to Egypt, and anon to Syria, as the one kingdom or the other got the better ; and they had to pay dearly for their neighbourhood, as is wont to be in time of war. Specially when that impious man was king in Syria, whom histories style Antiochus the noble ; he assaulted the Jews most fiercely, and raged and slaughtered like a devil among them. It was on account of this wretch and cruel villan that the vision was given, to comfort the Jews, whom he was to plague with all kinds of plagues."

It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that we do not find Syria and the individual kingdoms mentioned by name, any more than Rome. As yet these kingdoms lay quite beyond the historical horizon of Daniel ; the angel, therefore, could not designate them by their names. Rome was separated from Daniel by space ; an independent Syrian kingdom, by time. Syria, already conquered by the Assyrians (2 Kings xvi. 9 ; Is. viii. 4 ; Amos i. 5), belonged afterwards as a province to the kingdoms

60 INCIDENTAL PROOF OF THE ANTIQUITY OF DANIEL.

of Babylon, Persia, and Greece, successively,¹ and was a very unimportant country in the time of Daniel. The angel designated the Syrian kings by the general appellation of kings of the North, or Midnight, referring, probably, to the prophetic *usus loquendi*, by which the midnight region is spoken of as the land of darkness, of destruction, of the enemies of God and His people (Joel ii. 20; Jer. i. 13-15; iv. 6; x. 22; xlvii. 2; Zech. ii. 10). If our book had been written so late as the time of the Maccabees, it would be difficult to assign a reason why Syria is not mentioned by name as well as Greece; nay, it might be expected that Syria should be mentioned, even though Greece was not. This circumstance must be regarded as one of those minute and fine features which, because of their very insignificance and secondary position are, to the unprejudiced student, the most eloquent witnesses for the antiquity and authenticity of a book. It cannot be maintained by our opponents that the Maccabean authors omitted to name Syria for fear of Antiochus, since country and king for that time are so minutely sketched as to be unmistakable. We lay the more stress on this circumstance, as Egypt, whose princes are called in opposition to the Syrian, the kings of the South or Mid-day, is mentioned by name (ver. 8, 42). For this is not only the old monarchy well known to the Israelites, but at the time Daniel received this revelation it was still an independent and even flourishing kingdom; nor was it till ten years later that it was conquered by Cambyzes and annexed to Persia.² The designation, kings of the North and kings of the South, is given from Palestine being the stand-point. This is not only the stand-point of all prophecy, and of the whole Bible, but the return of the Israelites to their own country in the third year of Cyrus, had already commenced at the time of this prophecy. Thus, in its prophecies concerning the enemies of Israel, our chapter not only bears the specific character of Daniel's time, but evinces its genuine pro-

¹ Comp. Winer's Realwörterbuch. Art. Damascus, Aram, Syrien.

² Comp. Lepsius in Herzog's Realencyklopädie, i. p. 150.

phetic character in this, that it is mysterious notwithstanding its minuteness.

And this, indeed, is the general character of the entire wonderful revelation which is here given to us. Of all the predictions contained in the Holy Scripture, this is doubtless the most special and minute, and in order not to be offended at this prophecy, it is necessary to believe in the omniscience and real revelation of God in the prophetic word. Nay, we may assert, of this eleventh chapter, that it is essentially important as a datum for the doctrine of divine prescience in a system of dogmatics. The supposition of some theologians,¹ that God has a prescience of the development of the world in its pure abstractness only, in its final end, and in the most essential points of its evolutions, cannot be reconciled with our passage. It is true, it stands by no means isolated. Significant and important analogies are furnished by the words of that man of God at Bethel (1 Kings xiii. 2), who mentioned the name of King Josiah more than three hundred years before that king's time, in Isaiah's prophecy of the sixty-five years during which the kingdom of Ephraim was to continue (Is. vii. 8), in the prophecy about Babylon and even about Cyrus (Is. xiii. 1; xiv. 23; xxi. 1-10; xlv. 28; xlv. 1), in Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years of exile (Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10); in the very circumstantial disclosures of Ezekiel concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (Ezek. xxiv. 2, 25-27); and many others. But the most important examples are given in the book of Daniel, and they assume the greater importance, since they are, at the same time, organic preparations for our present prophecy, in which they have their culminating point. We must also bear in mind that, as Hofmann reminds² us, "this minute description was given to meet a want which had not been felt before," that it was intended to be a light unto the path of the people of the election, in the darkest centuries of their abandonment by God. And thus we come, lastly, to con-

¹ Z. B. Rothe, theol. Ethik sec. 42. Martensen, Dogmatik sec. 116.

² Weiss. u. Erfüll. i. p. 313.

sider the character of the prophecy itself. As we have mentioned before, its special minuteness is by no means of such a kind as to uplift, in a manner far from salutary, the veil which, in the wise counsels of the Almighty, has been drawn across the future, nor of such a kind as to unfold the future to the gaze of a profane curiosity. If we take the chapter and read it without consulting the historical elucidations afforded by the times of the Ptolemies and Seleucidae, it will seem full of dark enigmas. And naturally, this was still more the case when that history was yet future. These enigmas invited the faithful Israelite's investigation to a careful comparison of the prophecy with the events of the day, and thus by degrees he obtained the key of interpretation and received also the precious consolation that all the violence of the world under which the elect were now sighing, was predestined by God and prophesied to His people. He will understand this, who, in the dark days of the world's commotions, has experienced somewhat of the light and comfort of the word of prophecy. Comp. 2 Peter i. 19.

And here we are allowed to see the reason for which such a special disclosure about the spiritual world, considered as the background of history, is joined to such a special prophecy. The tenth chapter is as peculiar a phenomenon in Holy Scripture as the eleventh, and these two remarkable phenomena, unique in their kind, are connected not only outwardly but also inwardly. Their relation to each other is that of the future and the invisible. It strengthened and elevated the people of God to be permitted to view the future in a prophecy during their heavy afflictions; but it was equally strengthening and elevating for them to have their eye directed to the mighty champions and allies which they possessed in the world of spirits. As Paul excites the Ephesians to an earnest struggle against sin, by reminding them that they have to "wrestle not with flesh and blood alone, but with principalities and powers," so Daniel was commanded to inspire his people with courage and perseverance in their struggle with the world, by showing them that not only

they who are flesh and blood, but with them principalities and powers also are leagued against the world in its opposition to God. It is in the same spirit that Roos remarks (p. 13).:—"The name Lord of Sabaoth is nowhere mentioned so frequently as in the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who doubtless sought to counteract by this name the fear which the Jews, as a poor and despised people, had of the power of the Gentiles; and to prove to them that the God in whom they believed had hosts enough to protect them, though they should be devoid of all worldly might wherewith to defend themselves against their enemies."

This general characteristic of the eleventh chapter may suffice, as the more minute explanation of its contents is to be found (and with essential agreement) in all, either learned or popular, commentaries of Daniel. We refer especially to *Havernick* and *Hitzig*, as well as to Schmieder's continuation of Gerlach's Commentary. There remain but two points for discussion, the beginning and the end of the chapter.

Commentators have found it difficult to account for the circumstance that the second verse concludes the series of the kings with Xerxes. For the three kings after Cyrus (in whose reign Daniel received the entire revelation) are Cambyses, Pseudo-smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes. The fourth king is Xerxes, whose riches are proverbial, and who had an attendant always crying to him, "Lord, remember the Athenians!" In his reign, the Persian kingdom reached its highest point and displayed its greatest power against Greece. But it was subdued by Greece, and from this period dates its gradual decay. After the battle of Salamis, the centre of the world-history was no more in the second, but in the third, the Grecian kingdom. The second kingdom, therefore, disappears from view according to a law of prophecy which we shall describe more fully afterwards. The angel proceeds, in the third verse, to the Grecian kingdom, and this also he views at once in its world-historical culminating point, Alexander, in whose time it began to assume importance

for the people of God. Thus prophecy, passing over the valleys, steps from height to height of human history, its light illumines the mountain tops, the heads and the horns. It is only in the fifth verse that it descends into the low ground, and that because Israel was, after a respite, drawn into the vicissitudes of the Syro-Egyptian struggles.

The second point is the conclusion of the prophecy about Antiochus Epiphanes. In this passage we have, first, a description of the earliest wars of the king with Egypt (ver. 21-27), then of his religious conduct, partly as it related to Israel (ver. 28-35), partly viewed generally (ver. 36-39), and finally of his last enterprises and his end (ver. 40-45). From this general outline the reader will perceive that from the 36th verse the typical relation of Antiochus to Antichrist receives great prominence. For this reason the majority of commentators have referred verses 36-45 immediately to Antichrist. But Hävernick has justly given up this interpretation as arbitrary; for not only are the features of Antiochus' character drawn in verses 36-39 so accurately as scarcely to be mistaken; but we find again, in verses 40-45, the opposition between north and south which runs through the whole chapter. We must mention, however, one difficulty which this last part offers, viz., that historians do not mention anything of an expedition undertaken by Antiochus against Egypt shortly before his death. Some expositors, and *Hürig* also, suppose that the prophecy here goes back to earlier events, and embraces them all in this one final conclusion. But when we examine the text in its connection, this seems nothing but a mere makeshift. It is probable that the statement of Porphyry repeated by Jerome, deserves credit, according to which Antiochus undertook an expedition against Egypt in the eleventh year of his reign, consequently 166-165 B.C., and took Palestine on his way. The rumours mentioned in verse 44, which doubtless refer to the opposition and revolt of tributary nations, then led him towards the East. Porphyry remarks that Antiochus started from Egypt, took Arad, in the tribe of Judah, and devas-

tated the entire coast of Phœnicia; and this agrees well with the forty-fifth verse: "He shall plant the tabernacles of His palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain:" and that then he turned rapidly to check Artaxias, King of Armenia, who had raised up commotions. On this expedition he died in the Persian town Tabas, 164 B.C., as both Polybius and Porphyry agree.

We shall subsequently refer to the conclusion of the angel's speech (xii. 1-3), and then offer an explanation. Here we may remark that the twelfth chapter (ver. 4-13) bears the character of a conclusion, not merely to this individual vision, but, as an epilogue, to the whole book. For not only do we find the book expressly mentioned in the fourth verse, not only does the angel finally take leave of Daniel in the thirteenth verse, but distinct reference is made in the sixth and seventh verses to chap. vii. 25, that is, to the time of Antichrist, while the subsequent verses from the eighth to the twelfth, treat of the time of Antiochus, as is evident, more particularly from the eleventh verse, containing as it does, a plain allusion to chap. xi. 31. Thus, in the conclusion of the book, we see the two great periods of distress, for which it was more especially given, put together in a manner the most significant, and which throws light upon the whole prophecy. The extension of the view to the time of Antichrist, in a prophecy which refers chiefly to Antiochus, is caused by the mention of the resurrection (ver. 2, 3), which takes place immediately after the Antichristian period, and contemporary with the coming of the Messiah in glory—the subject of the seventh chapter. It is to this period that the question of the angel has reference, when he asks (ver. 6) "How long to the end of these wonders—קִיּוֹם פְּלִאִיּוֹת," in distinction from the question of Daniel (ver. 8), "what the end of these things—מָדוּרִית מְאִלֵּה." The angel's question refers to the wonderful dealings of God in general; the prophet, who does not at once understand fully the disclosures about the last things (ver. 8), asks what will be the concluding issue of those things then in progress, and im-

mediately impending. The angel, with heavenly eye, sees into the far distant end of the world's history; the prophet, with human interest, regards the more immediate future of his nation.

III. THE NINTH CHAPTER. THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THE MESSIAH.

We have noticed above, that between the visions of the second and seventh chapters, there were some narratives inserted not immediately connected with them. In like manner, in the second part of Daniel, we find a prophecy (chap. ix.), with a character of peculiar individuality, inserted between the vision at the commencement and that at the close. In this chapter a most important event in the life of Daniel is narrated, but one which does not relate to the connection between him and the world-power, but between him and his God, and which closes with one of the most remarkable and special revelations in Holy Scripture. In this respect the ninth chapter forms an important preparation for the two succeeding, which have already come under our consideration.

From the outset we here find ourselves placed on ground totally different from that on which we have hitherto stood. Daniel seeks to be enlightened about the seventy years, which, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xxv. and xxix.), were to be the duration of the Babylonian captivity (ver. 1-3); and after he had offered up to God a fervent confession of his sins, and an ardent supplication for his people, this enlightenment was vouchsafed to him through the angel Gabriel, in the celebrated prophecy of the seventy weeks (ver. 20-27). The powers of the world recede quite out of view. Israel, and the promise of salvation given to it, are the exclusive subject of this revelation; for it was natural, if not necessary, that the fulfilment of these promises, according to the previous predictions of the prophet, should be expected after the end of the captivity.

And thus this prophecy, which we shall afterwards consider minutely, refers to the redemption, and to the Person who brings it, the Messiah. It announces that His coming will not be immediately after the captivity; but that, dating from the restoration and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, seven times seventy years must yet elapse. Nor would He even then come in His glory, as Daniel might have been led to expect, from the language of the earlier prophets, or even from the revelation he had himself received (chap. vii.). He would be put to death; but thereby He would work out the atonement for sin, and confirm the covenant with many. The people of Israel, however, would, as a nation, reject Him, and then be itself rejected, and Jerusalem, with its temple, would be destroyed, and remain a desolation, till the consummation determined by God.

The first part of Daniel exhibited the final victory of the Messianic kingdom over all the powers of the world; the second predicted the heavy calamities and temptations which the powers of the world threatened to Israel in the more immediate future; to complete the picture, the prophet received disclosures when and how salvation was to appear in that future. The first part treats of the last days, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom coincides with the downfall of the hostile world-power; both these events are, consequently and necessarily, viewed together in one vision, as well in the seventh chapter as in the second. This cannot be the case in the prophecy of the more immediate future. - The first coming of Christ in the flesh is not immediately connected with the appearance of Antiochus Epiphanes: the two events, therefore, are kept separate in the prophecy. For we shall see, subsequently, that it is wrong to interpret the announcement of the resurrection (xii. 2, 3), as implying that the angel predicted that the dawn of the Messianic kingdom would immediately succeed the death of Antiochus. The Messianic prophecy of the ninth chapter, takes its independent place between the two visions that refer to the Old Testament Antichrist, as a word of comfort for "the wise." But there were no more

special disclosures required for the time between Antiochus and Christ. For, during that period, there occurred no trial like that prepared through Epiphanes. On the contrary, the Maccabean reaction against the tyrant kindled anew the zeal of the people for the religion of their fathers; and history teaches us, that from that time the Jews adhered to the law with ever increasing tenacity. Christ and Antichrist, as they are the theme of the first, so they are also the theme of the second part of the book.

It is difficult for us to decide how far the prophet had a clear and distinct consciousness of the relation the Messianic prophecy of the ninth chapter bears to that of the second, both as to the time and nature of their contents; whether he saw clearly the relation between the atoning death and sacrifice of the Messiah and His glorious coming from heaven; whether he discerned the relation, bound up in this, between the destruction of Jerusalem (by the Romans), and the future universal rule of the people of God. But this does not affect the matter. For the words of the apostle Peter, which were probably written with direct allusion to Dan. xii. 8, etc. (1 Pet. i. 10-12), refer to our prophet more than to any other.¹ It is Daniel who prophesies of the sufferings of the Messiah, as well as of the glories to follow; it is Daniel who prophesies, not for himself, but for the generations that come after him. It is Daniel who, more than any other prophet, had to search and inquire to what time, or to what manner of time, the spirit of the Messiah within him pointed. We may easily and safely conjecture, that the prophet thought much about the mighty contrast which the two prophecies unveiled to him, both as to the future of the Messiah and of his nation. We may regard as traces of such reflection, passages like x. 2, xii. 8. But what, in this respect, may not have been fully granted to Daniel, we find revealed even in the Old Testament and with comparative clearness by Zechariah. This prophet, to whom it was given to gather together the rich

¹ Comp. Hengstenberg, Beitr., p. 273.

harvest of all previous prophecy, unfolds before our eyes the picture of the Messiah in His different aspects, in such a way that we see that "the contrast between the suffering and the glory, the first and the second coming of Christ, was distinctly apprehended by his mind."¹ And in this we see additional and corroboratory proof that Zechariah was acquainted with the prophecies of Daniel, an acquaintance, of which in a previous page, we traced such vestiges as can hardly be mistaken.

¹ J. P. Lange. *Positive Dogmatik*, p. 688.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOCALYPTIC FORM OF PROPHECY.

I. THE OBJECT OF APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY.

I. IN GENERAL.

WHAT has been already said may suffice, in the meantime, as to the contents of the book of Daniel. We trust we have shown that, in all their parts, they spring naturally and necessarily from the position in which the captivity stands to the rest of the history of revelation. The *form* of the prophecy is also intimately connected with the historical position.

The book of Daniel bears the same relation to the Old Testament, and especially to the prophets, as the Revelation of John to the New, and especially to the prophetic sayings of Christ and His apostles. Daniel is the Apocalypse of the Old Testament. Other books of the Old Testament as well speak of the great Messianic future; other books of the New Testament as well speak of the second coming, or Parousia of Christ. But, while the other prophets bring only the particular situation of the people of God at the time into the light of prophecy, and while the apostles give disclosures on special eschatological points, as the wants and necessities of their readers demand them; Daniel and the Revelation of St John are not so much called forth by a temporary want, and given for a special end, but they have the more general aim of serving as prophetic lamps to the congregation of God in those times, in which there is no revelation, and in which the church is given into the hands of the Gentiles (*καί ποί ἐθνῶν* Luke xxi. 24). We have thus recognized Daniel as the

light which was sent for the comfort of those who were "wise," to lighten the darkness of the half millennium, from the captivity till Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. And, in like manner, the Apocalypse of John was given to the saints of the new covenant, as a guiding star, to lead them on their pilgrim's journey through the world, from the first coming of Christ, or rather from the destruction of Jerusalem till His second coming, when He shall establish the kingdom of glory (comp. Tit. ii. 11-13; Rev. i. 7; xxii. 17, 20). The last days indeed form also the subject of Daniel's visions (chap. ii. and vii.), and therefore we must necessarily expect an intimate connection between these chapters and the Apocalypse. But, while Daniel writes for Jews, and from the Old Testament stand-point, John, standing on New Testament ground, writes for Gentile Christians, a difference, rich in consequences, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see.

Such being the object for which the Apocalyptic books were given, it will easily be seen why there is, strictly speaking, only one Apocalypse in each Testament, though there are many prophets in the Old, and many prophetic disclosures in the New. There are two great periods of revelation, that of the Old, and that of the New Testament. And each of these is followed by a period without revelation; that which succeeded the exile, and that which succeeded the apostles (the Church-historical period). The Apocalyptic books are the two lights which shine out of the former periods into the latter. And hence, each Apocalypse is among the latest works of its respective canon; it is written at a time when revelation, about to lapse into silence, gathers once more its whole strength into a final effort. We are taught this by the very name Apocalyptic. It is an *ἀποκαλύψις* (Rev. i. 1), a revelation in a peculiar emphatic sense, needed for the times without revelation; a guiding-star in the times of the Gentiles.

There are two other features which must be viewed in this connection. Whilst our books stand isolated in the canon, they

have found the more apocryphal imitations; *e.g.*, the Jewish and Christian Sybillines, the book Henoch, the fourth book of Ezra, the Anabatikon of Isaiah, etc. It is not to be wondered at that the times without revelation, but which bore, nevertheless, the fresh impress of revelation, should, in their desire of imitation, choose, with especial partiality, that portion of sacred literature of which they themselves formed the subject, and this the more, that they found here the most concentrated and wonderful form of that supernatural revelation whose loss they so painfully felt. The other phenomenon may be as easily explained. In a later period which, separated from revelation by length of time, no longer possesses a lively and inward understanding of it, criticism chiefly attacks the Apocalyptic books just because they are the most wonderful products of the spirit of revelation. For, as the critical misunderstanding of revelation consists chiefly in this, that the boundary-line between the canonical and the apocryphal is destroyed, and revealed history degraded to the level of profane history, so we will find this true of the special case of the apocryphal books, and the want of a spiritual (pneumatic) understanding of the canonical Apocalypses will manifest itself chiefly in the loss of the power of discriminating them from the apocryphal, and in the rude effacement of the sacred and well-defined line of demarcation which separates divine inspiration from human invention. And this is what happened in modern times. Nor can we be astonished to meet such a method on apocalyptic ground, more than elsewhere, a method which must, in all strictness, be designated as unhistorical and uncritical, because it is incapable of viewing the historic forms in their individual and well-defined character, and, therefore, confuses them without reasonable discrimination.

It is not without significance that the Revelation of John closes the New Testament. Such books are written only for those who have apprehended by faith, and spiritual understanding, the sum of what is taught in the rest of the divine word. They are full of stumbling-blocks to the common reader. The Apocalyptic

books are not for us so long as we are satisfied and rich in the world, so long as we do not yearn, with our inmost soul, after the more perfect, yea, after the personal coming of the Lord Himself. (Rev. xxii. 17, 20.) Only the Lamb that was slain could open the book with the seven seals; none can read its mysteries but he to whom the world is crucified. (Rev. v. 1, etc.) Daniel and John fell to the ground in holy trembling and humble adoration, when these most intimate revelations were vouchsafed to them from the upper sanctuary; nor is there any other way by which to enter into the understanding of the sacred prophecy. (Dan. viii. 17; x. 8, etc.; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8.) This is the plain declaration of both books. They are particular to remark, that to penetrate their meaning requires not only a religious frame of mind in general, but a special sanctification, purification, and trial of our stedfastness, chiefly in the heat of temptation and persecution. John, therefore, styles himself, in the title of his book, not only brother, but companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ (Dan. xii. 10; Rev. i. 9). The times of the Gentiles are altogether times of affliction, during which the servants wait for their Master (Dan. ix. 25; Luke xii. 35, etc.; 1 Thess. i. 10; Phil. iii. 20); and this affliction will reach its highest point in the last troublous time. It is for this period and its precursors, that the Apocalyptic books were given; it is then only that the seals will be fully unloosed, and the veil fully removed. And though the prophecy of John was not to be sealed like that of Daniel, since it was given in the New Testament time, and, as may be said, in the beginning of the last days, yet, notwithstanding, it guards with the greater emphasis against every misconception, and repeatedly asserts, that patience, and faith, and a mind that hath wisdom, are needful in him who would understand it (Dan. viii. 26; xii. 4, 9; Rev. xxii. 10, 18; xiii. 10, 18; xiv. 12; xvii. 9). We must, therefore, expect that but a very imperfect appreciation of the book can be obtained in ordinary times, and by the application of ordinary means, and that those

who are careless about considering the fundamental laws, and fulfilling the fundamental conditions which these books afford for their own interpretation, must necessarily abuse the gift thus vouchsafed to the Church.

From the position and office of the Apocalyptic writings, we will be able to understand the peculiar characteristic differences between their prophecies and those of the other prophets. It is not necessary that, in the times of living revelation, when one prophet is succeeded by another, and one apostle's doctrines complemented by another, so much should be condensed into one book. But the Apocalyptic books, in order to fulfil their proper object, and to throw prophetic light on the relation between the world and the kingdom of God for the benefit of the times that are destitute of immediate revelation, must both give a general view of the whole and enter into detailed description. And this can be effected only when God, who rules the whole course of the world's history, grants more special disclosures of the future than are usual in prophecy.

The first-mentioned peculiarity of the Apocalyptic books, viz., the universal character of their survey, appears in the fact that they are *resumés*, divine *compendia* of the entire body of prophecy contained in their respective Testaments. In the Revelation of John, we find the scattered fragments of eschatological disclosures which occur in the discourses of our Lord and the writings of His apostles, gathered together into an organic unity; so much so, that it is from it we learn to give the other separate passages their proper place in the development of the whole. It is in John, for instance, that a clear distinction is made between the coming of Christ to found His kingdom (of a thousand years) on earth, and His coming to judge the world; while the gospels and epistles contain many passages in which it may be doubtful to which advent they refer, or whether both are viewed simultaneously. Here we must remark, however, that commentators have hitherto been guilty of much error and neglect on this point, because, not recognising the pre-eminence and significance of the idea of God's kingdom on earth as preceding the

final consummation, an importance which it has in the teaching of Christ and His apostles, they have referred everything to the last judgment. In like manner, Daniel sums up all the essential data of Old Testament eschatology, *i.e.*, Messianic prophecy. And, as in the Revelation of John, the difference between the second and third coming of the Lord appears with unambiguous clearness, so our prophet is the first who draws a plain distinction between the first coming of the Messiah in the flesh and His second coming in glory. Not is it merely the Messiah's coming, but also the course of the world's history up to the time of that coming, which is made the object of more minute revelation in the two Apocalyptic books; while the prophets and apostles view the world-power in its form at the time simultaneously with its final development, and so proclaim the Messianic time to be nigh at hand. What prophecy sees in one and the same perspective, the Apocalypses separate into its individual phases and periods. Thus, the four universal monarchies in Daniel are the apocalyptic development of the one world-power which the prophets, according to their historical position, named Assyria or Babylon, etc.; and thus, also, the Messianic prophecy of the ninth chapter is but the separate unfolding of the typical and antitypical salvation, of the temporary deliverance from captivity and the final Messianic deliverance, events which the prophets usually viewed together. In like manner, it must be regarded as one of the objects of the Revelation of John, among others, to proclaim to those Christians who, according to the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, expected the coming of Christ to take place contemporaneously with the destruction of Jerusalem, that the end was not come yet, and to afford them an insight into the times of the Gentiles which were to precede it. And this object is easily reconcilable with another, that the book was intended to serve, and to which we shall afterwards have occasion to refer.

The other peculiarity of the Apocalyptic books in virtue of which they were to serve their appointed purpose, and which is

intimately connected with the universality of their survey, is the special character of their prophecies. The Apocalypses give more historical and eschatological detail than prophecy. Consequently, we are not astonished that numbers appear more frequently, and that stress is laid on the chronological relations they express. We shall see a remarkable illustration of this peculiarity when we come to consider the seventy prophetic weeks. At present let us turn our attention to a characteristic difference which prevails between the Old Testament and the New Testament Apocalypse.

II. THE APOCALYPSES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS CONTRASTED.

The people of God, under the Old Covenant, stood the more in need of special prophecy for the period without revelation, as they did not enjoy that consolation vouchsafed to us Christians in the clear views we have of the inheritance that fadeth not away, reserved for us in heaven; for then the power of death was not yet taken away, nor a personal entrance into the higher world of life and light yet opened to mankind. The Christian congregation, according to its central principle of life, is already transplanted into heavenly places, being taken out of this world. Its heart and treasure, conversation and citizenship, is in heaven with its transfigured Lord, and at the same time the cross of Christ has revealed the true divine light in which to view all the afflictions and temptations of this present time (Eph. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 20; Col. iii. 1-4; and especially 2 Cor. iv. 8-v. 8). In short, to those who are born of God, and are even now partakers of the eternal life, the relation of the present to the future, of the visible world to the invisible, is the reverse of that in which mankind before Christ, including even the Jews, viewed it. For Israel, also, was not yet raised above the elements of the world (*στοιχία τοῦ κόσμου*); the sanctuary of the Old Cove-

nant was yet an earthly sanctuary (*ἄγιον κοσμηκόν*. Gal. iv. 3, 9 ; Heb. ix. 1). The eye of Israel could not (and it was ordered that it should not) be directed to the heavenly, but only to the earthly future ; for it was upon earth that He should appear in whom all the preparations and the purposes of God for His people should find their fulfilment. The sum and substance of Old Testament prophecy, therefore, is the doctrine of the kingdom of God upon earth.¹

But, if the heart of Israel was not yet in heaven, it stood the more in need of being armed against the temptations and assaults of the world ; if, according to the purposes of God, its eye was to be directed to the earthly future, there was the more need that this future, until the appearance of Messiah on the earth, should be disclosed with particular minuteness. The minuteness with which the earthly destiny was foretold had to compensate for the absence of those views of the heavenly glory which prevails in the Old Testament. Thus, we find in Daniel, especially in the second part, which relates to the time immediately before and immediately after Christ, prophecies of such unusual detail—much more minute than those of John, both as regards the historical facts and the chronological dates. As regards the historical point, we consider the revelation of the eleventh chapter concerning the Syro-Egyptian struggles, with their battles, conquests, marriages, etc., to be the most special prophecy in Holy Scripture. Nor are the chronological details less wonderful both of the time of Antiochus and the time of Messiah (viii. 14 ; xii. 11, 12 ; ix. 24–27). The latter indicates the details for the entire period up till the fulfilment, even to the year ; the former for the time of the fulfilment itself, even to the day.

And here we must notice a further characteristic difference between the Apocalypse of the Old and of the New Testament. Daniel is commanded to seal his visions (viii. 26 ; xii. 4). John

¹ Comp. Oehler, *Veteris Test. sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*, p. 54, etc.

is commanded not to seal them (Rev. xxii. 10); and for this reason, that Daniel is told his prophecy refers to a distant time, and is, therefore, obscure for the future immediately approaching; while John, on the contrary, was informed that the visions he was beholding, were to be speedily fulfilled, that the time was at hand (Rev. i. 1, 3; xxii. 6). We would have expected the reverse, since the visions in the eighth chapter of Daniel, and from the eleventh to the twelfth chapter, where those commands are found, reach no further than to Antiochus Epiphanes.¹ We must, therefore, look for some deep and holy reason, especially as Rev. xxii. 10 is manifestly a conscious and intentional contrast to Daniel. The difference is grounded in the different purposes of the two Apocalypses, and we will endeavour, at least, to throw out a few leading thoughts upon it.

In accordance with the special character of Old Testament Apocalyptic prophecy, we find that wherever the fulfilment is not stated with chronological accuracy, as in the ninth chapter, some clue, at least, is given by which we may be led to form a general conception of the period referred to. This was the more necessary, as we know with what eagerness, during the times of affliction, after the captivity at least, the people in Israel waited for the fulfilment of prophecy (contrast with this *e.g.* Zeph. i. 12-14), with what anxious impatience they sought after signs of the predicted period. Even the times of Christ and the subsequent decennia show this. It was the object of prophecy to restrain such premature zeal.

The New Testament, on the other hand, is the time of the end and fulfilment (1 Cor. x. 11; 1 Peter i. 20; Heb. ix. 26); and though the times of the Gentile Church may extend over a long period, yet, as the apostle of the Gentiles himself suggests (Rom. xi. 12, 15), they are viewed as rapidly-elapsing inter-

¹ The time of Antioch is called "the time of the end," Dan. viii. 17-19; 11, 40. (Comp. 12, 4.) But this must not confuse us, for it is the prophetic expression for the time, which as the time of fulfilment is always seen at the end of the prophetic horizon. Comp. especially Gen. xlix. 1. Numb. xxiv. 14.

mediate times in the course of the development of the kingdom which is the object of the prophetic vision, they are days of small things in the divine estimate of events, and it is in reference to them that Peter alludes to the words, a thousand years are with the Lord as one day (2 Peter iii. 8, 9). The Gentile Church, for which John wrote his Revelation, needs the more to be impressed with the shortness of this period, as it is inclined, owing to its Gentile origin, to conform to the world and to forget the coming of the Lord. As the Church of the New Covenant, it is true, it excels that of the Old in that heaven is opened to it in the spirit; but in the flesh it is yet in the world, and doubly exposed to its temptations, because no longer outwardly separated from it. And, although, owing to its perfection in Christ, it does not require such special predictions as the Old Testament Church, yet, because of the imperfection still cleaving to it in the flesh, it stands in need of being reminded of the transitory character of this present world, and the near approach of the advent of the Lord, an admonition whereby it is comforted in the time of affliction, and roused to watchfulness in the time of slumber and worldliness. The Revelation points, on the one hand, to the coming of Christ as distant, for it shows the succession of the seven seals, trumpets, and vials;¹ on the other hand, it proclaims, with upraised finger, "Behold, I come quickly." In this it but follows the example of the Saviour Himself, who distinctly said, that His second advent was a remote event, yet notwithstanding, and for that very reason, exhorted to watch and to wait (Matt. xxv. 6, 13, 19; Mark xiii. 32-37).

¹ Comp. *Baur* in his and *Zeller's* *theologische Jahrbücher*, 1852, iv., 444.

II. THE NATURE OF APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY.

I. THE SUBJECTIVE FORM ; THE DREAM, THE VISION.

We may naturally expect that as the Apocalyptic books contain peculiar revelations adapted to a peculiar purpose ; so the mode in which they are communicated to the seers, will differ from the mode usual in other prophecies. We have now to investigate what that peculiar mode is.

The name Apocalyptic (in the use of which we are justified by Rev. i. 1), already signifies that the divine communication and revelation are more prominent in the prophet than the human mediation and receptivity ; for ἀποκάλυψις (revelation) signifies a divine,—προφητεία (prophecy, Weissagung), a human activity. Comp. Dan. ii. 22, 28, where it is said of God, that “ He revealeth (αὐτος ἀποκαλύπτει, lxx.) the deep and secret things ; He knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with Him ;” and Rev. i. 1, 2, where the supernatural fact is threefold. God gave the revelation to Jesus Christ, and He, through His angels, signified it to John for the purpose of further spreading it. All biblical prophecy, of course, is based on divine revelation, so that these two words designate, the one the subjective, the other the objective side of the same thing (see 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30), and are sometimes used indiscriminately, as when John calls his Apocalypse, which is styled “ the revelation of Jesus Christ ” (Rev. i. 1), “ the words of this prophecy ” (Rev. i. 3). For this reason, however, a distinction is likewise made between the two expressions, and they are used as two distinct species of the same genus, according as the objective revelation, or the subjective prophetic inspiration, is more prominent. Thus St Paul distinguishes them in 1 Cor. xiv. 6, “ either by revelation or by prophecy.

The prophet stands in connection with the outer world. He

addresses words to the prince and the people, as in the Old Testament, to the congregation, as in the New, words with which the Spirit of God, pervading the human spirit with His mighty influence, supplies him. But whilst the prophet *speaks* in the Spirit (comp. 1 Cor. xii. 3, ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν), the apocalyptic seer *is in* the Spirit, in his whole person (Rev. i. 10 ; iv. 2). The united activity of soul and body which forms the link between man and the outer world, recedes altogether into the background, so that St Paul, speaking of such a state from his own experience, can say he does not know whether he was in the body or out of the body (2 Cor. xii. 2, 3). It is the spirit only, that which connects us with God and the invisible world, which is active, or rather recipient, in the apocalyptic state ; for all proper human activity towards God can consist only in receiving. Here, where the object is not so much to influence the immediate contemporaries of the seer, as that the seer may receive disclosures for the benefit of all succeeding generations, he is alone with God, while He reveals Himself, and perceives only what is disclosed to him from above, as the veil which hides the invisible world is drawn from off his spirit (ἀπο—καλυπτειν). "The heavens were opened," says Ezekiel (i. 1), "and I saw visions of God." This state is therefore called a trance [ecstasy] (Acts x. 10 ; xi. 5 ; xxii. 17), a being taken out of the relations of earthly life, a being snatched away out of the world and transported into heaven (ἀρπαγῆναι εἰς οὐρανὸν παράδεισον, 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4). And this explains the titles of the apocryphal Apocalypses, such as Ascension, ἀναβατικὸν, ἀνάληψις, and the like.

For the same reason, the subjective psychological form of the Apocalypse is either the *dream*—since in dreaming we are taken out of connection with the external world, and introduced into a new world of images and representations—or, in a higher degree, the *vision*, the sight (das Gesicht). St Paul characteristically places together visions and (in them) revelations of the Lord (2 Cor. xii. 1). "The apocalyptic state, in its lower degree, is of the nature of a dream, and the revelations are imparted to men

partly in dreams of the night, διὰ θεῶν ὀνειράτων; in its higher degree, the ecstasy comes on in a waking state, καθ' ὕπν; but in both cases it is a state in which earthly consciousness, logical thought and its gnosis, recede into the background, words and conceptions vanish, and the human spirit, overpowered by the divine, loses itself in the contemplation of divine things."¹ In the dream or vision a whole history unrolls itself before the inner eye of man, and hence these psychological forms of revelation are specially fitted for the special disclosures which we have seen were necessary for the purposes, the Apocalyptic books have to serve.

A beautiful and remarkable progress may be traced in this respect in the book of Daniel. We have already directed the reader's attention to the circumstance, that the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of importance to the prophet himself as a preparatory education. But, in the subsequent revelations as well, each forms a preparation for the following, both in form and contents, and thus we are able to trace clearly the gradual steps by which God educated the prophet to be a fit recipient of His disclosures as these became ever more special. When Nebuchadnezzar first dreams, Daniel is simply the interpreter (chap. ii. and iv.); afterwards Daniel himself has a dream, but as yet it is only a vision in a dream of the night (vii. 1, 2); this is followed by a vision in the waking state (viii. 1-3); and finally we see that in the last two revelations (ix. and x.-xii.) the ecstatic state is apparently no longer necessary to the prophet, who, now a feeble and trembling old man (x. 8, etc.), is already almost transplanted out of the earthly world. Now, in his usual state, he sees and hears angels speak like men, whilst his companions do not see the appearances from a higher world, and are only seized with terror like as those who accompanied St. Paul to Damascus (ix. 20, etc.; x. 4, etc.; comp. Acts ix. 7). It is clear that the progression in the

¹ Lücke loc. cit. p. 28; comp. also p. 17.

form of prophecy corresponds to a similar one in the *contents*. At first we see only general outlines, sketches which are afterwards filled up with minuteness and circumstantiality. The two last prophecies, the ninth chapter with its chronological, and the eleventh with its historical details, are by far the most special. We do not notice, in the Apocalypse of John, the same progression and variety in the form of revelation as there is in Daniel; but John received his revelation on one day and in one form (i. 10; iv. 2), a form which resembles the highest attained by Daniel, as we find it in the eighth chapter. Those unecstatic visions, or, more properly, auditions, which we meet with in Daniel ix.-xii., are without analogy in the Revelation of John; for the Apocalyptic prophet of the New Testament had not to receive revelations at all so detailed. It is, however, only in accordance with the spirit of the New Testament, that the revelation is communicated, not in dreams and visions of the night, as is the case so late as Zechariah, but in the highest form of ecstasy, in waking visions, bright and clear as the day.

II. THE OBJECTIVE FORM: SYMBOLISM.

Our remarks, hitherto, have reference merely to the subjective form of Apocalyptic prophecy; we shall now briefly consider the objective, the object of the dream and vision in which the truths of revelation are sensibly embodied in a concrete way, that they may be perceived by the mind's eye of the seer.

In prophecy, the Spirit of God, who inspires the human organ of revelation, finds His immediate expression in words; in the Apocalypse, human language disappears, for the reason given by the apostle (2 Cor. xii. 4): he "heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." A new element appears here which corresponds to the subjective element of seeing, the vision. The prophet's eye, for the Apocalyptic writer is a prophet, in a

wide sense, is opened to look into the unseen world, he has intercourse with angels; and as he thus beholds the unseen, he beholds also the future, which appears to him embodied in plastic symbolic shapes, as in a dream,¹ only that these images are not the children of his own fancy, but the product of divine revelation adapting itself essentially to our human horizon. Every divine unveiling of truth is at the same time relative, a veiling of truth from profane eyes: one need only be reminded of the parables of Jesus and His own declaration concerning them (Matt. xiii. 10-15). It is so also with the Apocalypses. "The relation of man to history is not to be destroyed," even by these circumstantial details of the future which it is their peculiar office to communicate. Man is to know the future, and yet not to know it, in order that the events prophesied may be objects both of faith and hope to him, and that he may not see the future as clearly as the past. "The Lord," remarks Preiswerk, "has always represented the events He announced by the prophets in such a manner that they were sufficiently clear for him, who approached with reverence and careful thought, and yet sufficiently dark and veiled as not to limit the freedom of human action. For, if the unchangeable decrees of the Eternal were presented to our eyes in unveiled features, what would become of the responsibility of man, of the free movements of human life, what of courage, and hope, and joy? Standing opposed to an iron necessity we would be discouraged and paralysed, as we sometimes observe in the case of men who believe in the inevitable fulfilment of a soothsayer's predictions about them."² It is for this reason that the form peculiar to Apocalyptic prophecy is the symbolic, which may be regarded as a parallel to the parabolic form of the discourses of our Lord. Symbols as well as parables are holy enigmas to arouse our attention; they disclose heavenly mysteries to him who is willing to attend and receive instruction; but

¹ Comp. Schubert's *Symbolik des Traums*.

² Comp. Lücke, p. 403. Nitzsch, *System der Christl. Lehre*. 5th edit. Pp. 87, 92. Preiswerk, loc. cit. p. 269.

they shut the hardened heart and close the slumbering eyes. The powers which prevail in the course of history are not introduced into Apocalyptic prophecy unveiled, but only under certain images of stones, plants (Dan. iv.), beasts, men, and so on, which, like the parables of our Lord, require themselves' an exposition. And when angels give us leading views to help us to an understanding of these symbols (Dan. vii. 16, etc.; viii. 19, etc.; Rev. xvii. 1, etc., 7, etc.; xxi. 9, etc.), these do not purport, as has been already remarked, to be complete interpretations, but only finger-posts and hints to aid our faith in its investigation, and so they are of such a nature as to leave prophecy an object of faith and investigation, even in the time of its approaching fulfilment. For since they are intended to be intelligible only to the wise, they would frustrate their object if a clear interpretation were annexed. And how perfectly this end has been achieved, the partial obscurity, namely, arising from the symbolic form, is most evident from this, that in our own times no questions in exegesis meet with such different answers as those concerning the Apocalypses; that, in reference to Daniel, there are two views prevalent, diametrically opposed to each other, while, after innumerable interpretations of the Revelation of John, we are yet seeking for the correct one, and only gradually and slowly finding our way to it by the light of the progress of its fulfilment.

As the subjective form of Apocalyptic prophecy is the vision, the corresponding objective form is the symbolic. There remains yet much to be done for the elucidation of Apocalyptic symbolism, especially that of the Revelation, where, as is generally known, it is not easy to decide between what is symbolical and what purely literal. And here it is important to distinguish between the invisible, but now already existing in heaven, and the future, "what is and what shall be hereafter" (Rev. i. 19). It is natural that the future should be represented in symbols, though even here there remain some obscurities; but where, as in Rev. iv. and v., the real passes into the symbolical, a more

minute examination is necessary. In this investigation it is necessary to consider the sum total of philological and exegetical results which have been gathered from the study of Holy Scripture, and of prophecy in particular. Nor ought analogies, which lie beyond the sphere of the Bible, to be neglected, though they must be kept carefully separate and be clearly placed in a secondary position. This alone is the true historical and critical method of investigation. What is biblical is from above; what is extra-biblical is from below: however they may resemble each other outwardly, this essential difference separates them. We attempted to throw light on the symbolism of men and beasts which occur in Daniel, from this point of view; and in the same spirit we shall consider the symbolical figures of the Revelation of John, as far as they offer parallels to those of Daniel. It is only thus that the interpretation can be founded on clear, firm principles, and that an end can be put to the arbitrariness which has been heretofore so prevalent. The symbols of the Revelation of John may also be classified into symbols in human and symbols in bestial shape.

We have, on the one side, the two beasts and the dragon, on the other, the woman and the whore. We are already familiar with the bestial nature from Daniel, but we shall have to notice the peculiar modification with which this symbolism occurs in the Revelation. On the other hand, the shapes of the woman and the harlot, which correspond to the Son of Man in Daniel, are new. Here also we must treat of the difference between the male and the female, and therefore we shall have to investigate what Holy Scripture, and especially prophecy, intends to designate by woman and by whoredom. Any one at all acquainted with biblical language will at once reply: The woman signifies the Church, and whoredom, her unfaithfulness to her divine Lord and husband. This, according to our opinion, is a simple and decisive interpretation of these two symbols, and places the passage about the two witnesses (Rev. xi.), which however, does not fall within our province, in its true light.

In the symbol, as well as in the parable, the lower is used as a picture and sign of the higher, the natural as a means of representing the spiritual. All nature becomes living; it is a revelation of God and of the divine mysteries and laws of life in a lower sphere, as much as the kingdom of heaven is in a higher. There is a deep fundamental harmony and parallelism between the two grand spheres of cosmic being, that of nature and that of spirit; or, as the latter is twofold, both psychical and spiritual, between the three kingdoms of nature, history, and revelation. It is on this correspondence that symbolism and parabolism are grounded. The selection of symbols and parables in Scripture, therefore, is not arbitrary, but is based on an insight into the essence of things. The woman could never represent the kingdom of the world, nor the beast the church; but, as we found that the essential nature of the kingdoms of the world is bestiality, so we shall find, in the nature of the woman, the reason why it is used as the symbol of the Church. To obtain an insight into the symbols and parables of Holy Scripture, nature, that second, or rather first, book of God, must be opened as well as the Bible.¹ Having thus considered the intimate relation between

¹ Comp. A. Bräm Blicke in die Weltgeschichte und ihren Plan. Strassburg, 1835, p. 16: "Though there are many regions and gradations of created beings, yet the Divine will has established the same fundamental laws in all of them. Thus, there is only one Word of God, who worketh in the world of Nature and Spirit; for example, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, except the external parts are dissolved, it cannot bring forth fruit; and, in like manner, every new spiritual life and progress must be preceded by a dying, a denying of the subordinate, and much more of the inordinate and sinful. (Comp. John 12, 24.) The knowledge of Nature is propædæntic to that of the Bible, and discloses to our eye its deepest meaning. We do not know and perceive in the beginning, the deep truth and inward harmony which pervades the Divine Word, because we live too little in the atmosphere of this essential truth and reality; only, after we have learned to believe the true God upon His simple word, we awake gradually to a sense and understanding of this characteristic of the Bible. But when once we have gained an insight into this truth, we feel how unspeakably true are the symbolic language and parables of the Bible; we are struck by the frequency with which the Bible speaks of certain beings and phenomena; we begin to trace from the spiritual interpretation which the word gives to phenomena in the world of Nature and

symbolism and parabolism, let us now inquire into their characteristic difference. Their starting-point and direction are mutually opposed. Jesus, coming down from heaven, seeks, in His parables, to clothe divine things in an earthly dress, and thus to introduce them into the very heart of human life. The parables are, so to say, a parable of Christ Himself. As in Him God became flesh, so He clothed the mysteries of God's kingdom in the events of human and natural life. For this reason, He starts from the daily wonted life of man, and selects out of it events, actions, and stories, that He may make them the memorials of things eternal. The Apocalyptic seer, on the other hand, looks from below upwards. He does not speak to the people; he speaks for the wise and prudent. His object is not so much to imprint the spiritual in the natural, as to fashion of the natural a transparent garment for the spiritual. The earthly is viewed not so much in its positive as in its negative relation to the heavenly. Hence, individual shapes, and not connected acts, become the expression of the spiritual idea; symbolism is not so much at home on earth as parabolism. The actions which are introduced in symbolism, are limited to the most general outlines: *e.g.*, the ram overcomes the he-goat, the dragon persecutes the woman, the beast with its horns hates and devours the whore. Nor do the shapes themselves retain their simple natural attributes, but in their symbolical meaning are characterised by special additions and combinations; the lion receives the wings of an eagle, the leopard four heads, another beast ten horns, the woman is clothed with the sun, etc. Thus there is as intimate a connection between the symbolic form and the contents and spirit of Apocalyptic prophecy, as between the parabolic form and the person of Christ. The parables correspond to the first appearance of Christ in the flesh for the salvation of the world; the Apocalypses refer chiefly to His second coming to judgment, and they show how all that is natural must die, in of man, an inward connection, hidden order and laws, thus disclosing to us, as it were, a new spiritual world."

order that the glory of the true essential spiritual life may burst forth. It is thus that, in the Apocalypses, the natural proves inadequate to express the spiritual, and the symbols must modify and enlarge the shapes offered in nature, while the parables give prominence to the divine element, which is couched and expressed in the natural phenomena as such.

If we apply these general remarks to Daniel, we perceive that his last two revelations are a partial exception also in this respect. They were received, not in an ecstatic, but in an ordinary state; and thus the words have more prominence than the symbolic shapes, yet not as ordinarily the words of the prophet, but words out of the invisible world, words of an angel. "When Daniel was younger, he saw the future in images which needed to be explained; but when he was old, the angels revealed in common language, as one relates a narrative."¹ It is now possible, to bear the words which are otherwise "unutterable," and in this narration of future things, coming from a heavenly world, they are revealed in their reality, and without their symbolic dress; even the most minute disclosures are now possible. We find here applied to an entire series of future events, the same mode of revelation which we meet elsewhere only in connection with some leading events in the kingdom of God (*e.g.*, the prophecy of the birth of Christ and of His forerunner). Yea, the same angel Gabriel who announces to Mary the birth of the Messiah, predicts His advent more than five hundred years before, and with the nicest chronological accuracy. It is as if divine revelation wished to show, on this the summit of Old Testament prophecy, how that she from her holy height can mould that highest form of prophecy which borders on prediction, yet does not overstep the boundary. For even in these words, care has been taken to veil the prophecy relatively, as we have shown above, in regard to the eleventh chapter, and shall have occasion to show, more fully, in regard to the ninth.

¹ *Roos*, Daniel als ein rechtschaffener Hofmann. 2d edit. Stuttgart, 1779; cited in his *Fusstapfen des Glaubens Abrahams*, Tübingen, 1838, p. 394.

This mode of prophecy, the Apocalyptic, though altogether new, did not appear without being prepared by the earlier prophets, as has been already shown, and only reached its full development in Daniel, who exerted, in this formal respect also, an influence on Zechariah, as is evident from the first six chapters of that prophet. There are, as may be expected, many points of transition and connecting links between prophecy and Apocalypses, which, however, we cannot consider at present. We have now only to point out, that the progress of the development of revelation, both in the Old and New Testament, finds its consummation in the Apocalyptic prophets. In the patriarchal, and even in the Mosaic period, the invisible world, God and the angels, came down outwardly and visibly to the earth. Among the prophets, the inward character of revelation is more prominent. But the consummation is, that now the prophet looks up from earth into the unseen world, and that there the images of the future are shown to him by angels' hands, and explained to him by angels' tongues. *Theophany* is the first form of Old Testament revelation, *Prophecy*, the second, and the *Apocalypse*, the third and final. In the New Testament there is a parallel progression; first, the coming of God in the flesh, then the spiritual activity of the apostles, lastly, the Apocalypse; a progression which, while inward, yet expresses itself also outwardly in the three parts of the New Testament canon,—the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, the Revelation of John. In both Testaments the first form and ground of revelation is objective, and is mediated through God the Son, who reveals Himself visibly to man; the second is subjective, and is mediated through the Holy Ghost, who inspires man inwardly; the third is a vision of the Son in His future Advent, procured through the Spirit. Thus, while the Apocalypse is a kind of prophecy, it is yet so peculiar a kind, that in its outward objectivity it has something in common with Theophany or Christophany. It is the higher unity of Theophany and Prophecy, of manifestation and inspiration.

SECOND PART.

THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

DAN. IX.

WE turn now to the separate consideration of those chapters of Daniel, the exegesis of which decides, as has been shown at the close of the introduction, the whole question which criticism has raised concerning our book. If we are successful in showing that the modern views of these chapters are untenable, we have gained so powerful a testimony to the genuineness of the book, as to leave scarce any weight to the remaining arguments of our opponents.

We begin the series with the ninth chapter, because the subject of this prophecy is a period which has long since elapsed, while the second and seventh chapters refer to an epoch future even to ourselves, and may therefore be more naturally viewed in connection with the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament. We shall first develop the contents of the angelic revelation which this chapter records, as it was understood by the Church of Christ in all ages, which was unanimous in regard to the main and essential points, though the opinions concerning minor details offer some diversity. That this was the case

appears from the following remark with which Hävernicks felt himself justified in concluding a survey of the exegetical history of our passage down to the second half of the last century (Commentar, pp. 393-395):—"It was generally conceded, notwithstanding all minor differences as to the details of this prophecy, that the central meaning of the seventy weeks was to be sought in *the life of Christ*; and the diversities in the interpretation of details may all be reduced to those that flow from three sources, a difference in the starting-point, a difference in the chronology of the life of Jesus, a difference in the chronological methods selected by the various commentators as a basis." We shall first present our own view of the chapter, and then proceed to criticise the modern expositions. A detailed philological exposition does not lie within the sphere of our proposed task, and we therefore refer the reader for information in this respect to *Hengstenberg's* Christology of the Old Testament (ii. pp. 401-581), as well as to the Commentary of Hävernicks.

CHAPTER I.

THE MESSIANIC VIEW TAKEN BY THE CHURCH.

I. THE PROPHECY IN ITS CONTEXT AND CONTENTS.

OUR chapter places us in the first year of Darius the Mede. If, as is still more probable, we are to understand by this Darius, Cyaxares II., in whose name his nephew, son-in-law, and successor, Cyrus, as commander-in-chief of the entire Medo-Persian army, conquered Babylon, 538 B.C., then the date of our chapter would fall about the year 537 B.C., nearly a year before Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return from their exile, and sixty-nine years after Daniel had been carried away to Babylon at the commencement of the captivity, 606 B.C.

We can easily understand why the pious Israelite, who so sincerely loved and clung to Jehovah and his nation, should feel himself moved at this time to make the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the seventy years, which were to witness the desolations of Jerusalem, the object of his investigation and earnest reflection. But he investigated the Scriptures with prayer. He poured out his heart in ardent supplication before the God of the Covenant, and cried to Him to vouchsafe His mercy to the people who were called by His name, and to restore the sanctuary and the city. This is one of those biblical prayers where we feel that it is not by human exposition that we can enter into its meaning, depth, and significance, but that the words must explain themselves in our own hearts. Daniel, the just and faithful servant of God, enters so deeply into the guilt and sin of his people, in

the consciousness of his priesthood he identifies himself so entirely with it, he repents so heartily in the name of all Israel, that we feel here a presentiment, as it were, of what happened in the inner sanctuary of the atoning substitution, and our view is borne aloft from the chamber of Daniel to the prayerful sacrifice of Gethsemane and Golgotha. As we have seen above that, in general, the prophet's own life forms the typical substratum for his prophecy, so also in this particular case his own experience forms the typical starting-point of the prophecy concerning the perfect atonement for sin. In this prayer of repentance, Daniel is a type of that highest Priest who was to be cut off (ver. 26), and should thereby cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease (ver. 27), because He Himself has made reconciliation for iniquity and brought in everlasting righteousness (ver. 24). Daniel was especially prepared to receive this revelation of the New Testament priesthood, at the very time when he himself had appeared before God in his priestly office. And can this prayer, which it is not possible to read without deep emotion in the very heart of hearts, be a cunning deception? It only shows how much our criticism is devoid of a deep and earnest sense for religious truth and truthfulness, when to such questions it attaches so little importance.

Before we proceed to consider the revelation which was vouchsafed to the prophet in answer to his prayer (ver. 24-27), let us remind the reader, first of all, that these four short verses contain angelic language; they are in the style of the upper sanctuary. Hence it is so difficult for us impure men (Is. vi. 5) to enter into their meaning; and hence there is no interpretation which has completely overcome the difficulties and thrown clear light on the obscurities in this angelic message. The answer naturally refers to the question, the favour shown to the petition offered; though the divine answer extends far beyond the human question, and the divine favour transcends all that we can think and pray for. We must endeavour, therefore, to enter vividly and fully into the thoughts and feelings

which form the basis of Daniel's prayer, in order to understand as far as possible the words of the angel.

Daniel prays for the liberation of Israel, and for the rebuilding of the city and the sanctuary. He prays for this manifestly in view of those great promises, whose fulfilment was connected with this event. For in all the prophets, especially in Jeremiah, who is more especially present to his mind (Jer. xxxi.), the fulfilment of the Messianic hope was inseparably connected with this restoration.¹ The revelation which Daniel himself had received in the second and seventh chapters, showed him doubtless that the Messianic kingdom was not so immediately near, in its glory at least, since but one of the four universal monarchies had passed away. But this made it the more necessary that some explanation should be granted him concerning the prophecies of the earlier prophets, in whom he saw an intimate connection between the deliverance from captivity and the Messianic salvation. The revelation now vouchsafed to him has for its purpose to analyse into its successive parts that which the prophets, according to the law of prophetic perspective, have hitherto seen together in one, viz. the redemption from captivity, and the full Messianic redemption. It had indeed occurred more than once in the Old Testament, that there were relative fulfilments of earlier prophecies, and that it became necessary to warn the people not to trace in them the highest and absolute fulfilment. The pious servants of God under the Old Covenant, who longed for the consolation of Israel, and who, like Noah's father (Gen. v. 29), hoped many a time that now the Comforter of their afflictions was nigh at hand, have to wait from age to age, and to view the preceding fulfilments only as pledges and earnest of the coming of Him whom they desired so earnestly to

¹ Comp. J. Chr. K. Hofmann die 70 Jahre des Jeremiah u. die 70 Jahre des Daniel. Nürnberg, 1836, p. 60, comp. Heim and W. Hoffmann, grossen Propheten, erbaulich aus gelegt aus den Schriften der Reformatoren, p. 864. Hess Geschichte der Regenten Juda nach dem Exil. Tübingen, 1792, p. 194.

see (Matt. xiii. 17); just like those Christians who believe the coming of their Lord to be near, but are ever expected to continue waiting. Thus David comes as a relative fulfilment of the older promises, but Nathan the prophet was sent to announce to him that he was not to build a house to God, for that God would build a house to him, and that his seed was destined to be, the mediator of Jehovah's true dwelling among His people (2 Sam. vii.). In like manner in our prophecy—and we know that this is in accordance with the essential characteristic of the Apocalyptic—Daniel receives the intimation of a long period of seventy prophetic weeks instead of seventy years, at the end of which the expected salvation would come; and thus the time is indicated which would elapse between the nearer and relative fulfilment, and the further and absolute, from the issuing forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, till the time of the Messiah. As the Lord answered Peter's question, "Is it enough that I forgive my brother seven times?" with, "Not seven times, but seventy times seven" (Matt. xviii. 21, etc.); so the angel here answers Daniel, not seventy years, but "seven times seventy years are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city." His words run thus:—

Ver. 24. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy.

Ver. 25. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall (and these only), even in troublous times.

Ver. 26. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end (of the

sanctuary) thereof shall be with a flood (of war), and unto the end there is war, desolations are determined (by God).

Ver. 27. *And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week : and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined (the curse) shall be poured upon the desolate.*

The twenty-fourth verse belongs to the most profound and glorious passages in the Old Testament ; and if anywhere these have a Messianic signification, it is here. The angel wishes at first to give the prophet the general impression that his hopes and prayers for the Messiah will be fulfilled in a much later period than he expected. The seventy years of exile were indeed, as he had confessed in his prayer, a punishment for the sins of the people, yet not a perfect satisfaction for them before God. God would certainly visit Israel with His redeeming mercy, but the full atonement and forgiveness of sin, the eternal and everlasting restoration of the normal state between God and sinners (צדק, δικαιοσύνη, righteousness), would come only after seventy prophetic weeks. The sacrifice by which this atonement for sin would be made is pointed out in the twenty-sixth verse by the expression, יכרת ("Messiah shall be cut off"), which reminds us of the sacrifices of animals at the striking of covenants (כרת ברית); with this also is connected the expression in the twenty-seventh verse, "He shall confirm the covenant with many," ודונביר ברית, and the prophecy, that the sacrifices of the Old Testament, both with and without blood ("sacrifice and oblation"), shall cease. Thus the angel presents to the prophet in these expressions a connected chain, each link of which bears, upholds, and explains the other, and which, taken aggregately, represents the Messiah as the perfect sin-offering of the covenant, a revelation which Daniel, an earnest investigator of Scripture, could find more fully explained in the fifty-third of Isaiah.

In this time of salvation, Gabriel continues, not only the

prophecies of Jeremiah, but likewise all visions and prophecies in general will be fulfilled (Luke xvi. 16; 2 Cor. i. 20); and not only will a new sanctuary be dedicated as Daniel prayed, but a most holy place where God would dwell with His people in a peculiar manner (John ii. 19-22). It is not necessary to consider the *קדש קדשים* to be masculine, as Luther does: *the Most Holy One*, although the word, especially when connected with *מִשְׁכָּן*, refers so distinctly to the Messiah, that this reference has been acknowledged even by Jewish commentators, as Aburbanal, and others. The most prominent thought is this: Even as, and because at that time the perfect sacrifice will be offered as an atonement for sin, the holy presence of God will likewise be perfectly manifested (Ex. xl. 9, 34). For only when sin is altogether taken away can God be really and perfectly present. And, for this reason, the cover of the ark of the covenant, on which, over the cherubim, Jehovah sat throned in the holy of holies, was, at the same time, the outward symbol of atonement, *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (*Διαστήριον* Rom. iii. 25). What is here represented typically would be fulfilled in the Messianic times.

Thus the fundamental idea of our verse is, that the seventy years of exile are only a type of the farther seventy prophetic weeks, and that the redemption from captivity at the end of the seventy years is, in like manner, but a feeble type of the full Messianic redemption at the end of these seventy prophetic weeks. The three following verses purport to give a minute description of these seventy weeks, selecting those of their leading events which are of importance in this connection.

The general prophecy of the twenty-fifth verse receives the more particular explanation, that the advent of the Messiah would not be immediately after the exile, as Daniel had hoped, and thus coincide with the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of the city; but that 7 and 62 = 69 prophetic weeks were previously to elapse. Within this time Jerusalem is to be restored and rebuilt, not indeed in that Messianic and divine

splendour as was prophesied, for example, by Isaiah (liv. 11 ; lx.-lxii.), but only in an earthly, external, and humble manner, with streets and trenches. It will be a troublesome time, better than the exile, but yet by far less rich in grace and salvation than the Messianic time.¹

Thus the prophet's eye was turned away from the end of the exile and fixed on the end of the sixty-ninth week as the time of the Messiah's coming. He is not to regard the time preceding that advent ; he is not to set his heart and hope upon it. For the fate of the people and city, which fills him with solicitude, is entirely dependent on the position they will take in reference to the Messiah. And, therefore, in the two following verses, there is such emphatic prominence given to the life and fate of the Messiah, while the fate of the city and sanctuary is mentioned only in the second half of the verses, and in dependent connection with the former. There is here, however, a twofold prophecy to be revealed. The Messianic future has a negative as well as a positive side. The Messiah is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against (Luke ii. 34). It is in this twofold aspect, as announcing both salvation and judgment, that the Messianic prophecies are revealed throughout the Old Testament from Joel (iii. 1-5) to Malachi (iii. 1-6 ; 19-21), even to the aged Simeon and John the Baptist (Luke ii. 29-35 ; iii. 7-18). We meet this twofold aspect of the facts of salvation in our prophecy also, and with an individual definiteness such as was naturally added by the fixed and distinct reference to the first advent of the Messiah in the flesh, and to the fate of the people and the city dependent on their reception of Him, and fulfilled in the destruction of Jeru-

¹ Hofmann *Schriftbeweis*, I. 44, expresses the meaning of our passage, when he says : It was necessary that Jesus should appear among the people of Israel, that among them the perfect communion between man and God should be restored. Hence it was necessary, that the dissolved Jewish polity should be restored again, but only in a manner that would both be sufficient for this particular object, and serve as a type of the perfect restoration of the nation.

salem by the Romans. The negative aspect is represented in ver. 26, the positive in ver. 27.

Ver. 26. The negative aspect is the rejection of the Messiah on the part of Israel. He was killed, and His people esteemed Him not. As a punishment for this crime the city and sanctuary are destroyed by a foreign prince. Jesus Himself, when He was led to the cross, had "felt in His heart," to use an expression of Roos, the causal connection of the two events of His death and the destruction of Jerusalem, and had repeatedly expressed it during the passion-week (Luke xxiii. 28-31; Matt. xxi. 37-41; xxiii. 37, 38). The last part of the verse gives a more detailed description of the destruction, and of the afflictions that were to precede it. The city and sanctuary are at last overwhelmed by a stormy, frightful deluge of war; for there is to be war even to the end (comp. Matt. xxiv. 6: wars and rumours of wars), desolations determined by God upon the land. How this was fulfilled in the Jewish war is well known.

These two events, the putting to death of the Messiah, and, in consequence of that, the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, are the points of decision for the people in general in that Messianic time which began with the close of the sixty-ninth week. For this reason they are put in the foreground, and are mentioned without any more special chronological particulars, than that they were to take place after the sixty-ninth week (the text has it, "after threescore and two weeks;" for the seven weeks, as they naturally precede the sixty-two, do not need to be mentioned again). The leading idea of the twenty-sixth verse is, therefore, the paramount importance of these two events, and their causal connection. Daniel, and the Israelitish readers of prophecy, would naturally expect that, immediately after the expiration of the sixty-two weeks (ver. 25), the Messiah should establish His kingdom of glory, to which the hearts of all Israel were specially directed, and which the prophet had himself beheld in the visions of the second and seventh chapters. In order, from the very outset, to counteract this expectation, which was not to be

fulfilled, Gabriel drops for a moment the chronological connection (to resume it in ver. 27), and inserts here, with the general intimation, "after threescore and two weeks," those leading events which were best calculated to rectify that erroneous hope,—the death of the Messiah and the destruction of Jerusalem. It is not hence to be inferred that these two events should coincide exactly with the close of the sixty-second week. We are told, on the contrary (ver. 25), that the coming of the Messiah was to be at the end of the sixty-second week, which, therefore, could not be marked also by His death. Nay, His death, as we shall see in (ver. 27), is half a week after, and the destruction is much later still. This last event is still indicated in the Messianic time as its negative judicial side, just as Christ Himself represents the destruction of Jerusalem as His Messianic coming (Matt. xvi. 28). The meaning of the angel therefore is: You must give up not only the hope that the Messiah will come immediately after the captivity, but also that other expectation, that immediately after His coming He will establish His kingdom of glory. It will be quite otherwise. Messiah will be put to death by the unbelieving people, and, therefore, they will not attain to glory and power, but, with the city and the sanctuary, will be delivered into the hands of the Gentiles. This is the view vouchsafed to Israel as a people, into the more immediate Messianic future.

These remarks will account for the change in the name chosen for the Messiah. He is introduced in ver. 25 as *Maschiach Nagid* ("the Anointed, the Prince"); in ver. 26, this complex idea is analysed, and the Messiah is called simply *Maschiach*, while the appellation *Nagid* is applied to Titus, the Roman prince who should destroy Jerusalem. All this is characteristic and full of meaning. The best explanation of *Maschiach Nagid* is that of Hofmann,¹ that the *Maschiach* refers to the Messiah as King of Israel, as the Spiritual Prince anointed by the Spirit, while the *Nagid* refers to Him as King of the Gentiles, ruler of

¹ Die siebenzig Jahre, etc., p. 67.

the world. The passage of Scripture in proof of the first is, Ps. ii. 2; of the second, Is. lv. 4. Daniel, who had (chap. vii.) seen the Son of Man ruling the whole world at the head of His holy people, required to receive this twofold characteristic of the Messiah. But at the death of the Messiah (ver. 26), it is evident that He is not yet the real actual ruler of the world, the world was then still under the fourth monarchy; the name *Nagid* is given, therefore, to its representative. It was the confession of Christ that He was *Maschiach* (Matt. xxvi. 63, etc.; comp. John xviii. 33-37), that brought Him to death, and, for this reason, it was written over His cross in literal fulfilment of our prophecy: Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 37, 42).¹ In some respects *Ebrard's* view of the passage is even more plausible than *Hofmann's*. He likewise refers the *Nagid* to Christ, in favour of which it may be adduced, that Christ Himself, as we have already mentioned, designates the destruction of Jerusalem as His Messianic coming. "The Redeemer is called the Anointed where His sufferings and rejection by his people are spoken of; He is called the Prince when the judgment which He sends is spoken of; *Maschiach* denotes His calling and dignity; *Nagid*, His power and strength. A people sent by this Prince will destroy the city and temple; this forms the grandest contrast to *אין לי*. He will be cut off and be no more at all, and yet He is the Prince who is to come, and whom all nations of the earth are to obey."²

But these two sad events, the violent death of the Messiah, and the destruction of the city and temple, are neither the only nor the last things which the angel has to communicate to the prophet. He can add something positive and joyful. The Messiah brings a week of revelation and salvation, and this is the subject of ver. 27. This time of mercy is not indeed improved by the people as a whole—to the people apply the words *אין לי* (ver. 26)—but yet by many to whom the Messiah

¹ Luther had the words *משיח נגיד* engraved on one of his table things.

² Die Off. Joh., p. 70.

strengthens and confirms the covenant, while judgment and destruction are gathering above the rest. By establishing a new economy, in which the old sacrifices no longer prevail, He brings the faithful into a nearer and firmer covenant relation to God, a thought which was contained already positively in the promises of ver. 24, and negatively in the announcement of the destruction of the sanctuary, ver. 26; and we have already remarked that it was possible for Daniel to have a presentiment of the sacrifice of the New Covenant, through which the Old Testament sacrifices were to cease, when he heard the prophecy of the death of the Messiah (ver. 26). But in the desolated city and the destroyed temple there should remain, the angel continues, a curse, on account of the abominations committed by the unholy people against the Holy One, until the time of consummation determined by God. In these last words lay a gleam of hope for the city, and the people in general, especially if Daniel connected them with the earlier revelations he had received. And thus the prophecy in the ninth chapter concludes, carrying us back, by a slight allusion, to the seventh chapter, where it was revealed to the prophet that, in the time of consummation, every world-power would be judged, and dominion would be given to the people of the saints of the Most High.¹

We annex here some explanatory remarks on this difficult verse. The confirmation of the covenant is also mentioned elsewhere by the prophets, as a Messianic office. Thus, the Messiah is called (Is. xlii. 6) the Covenant of the people (i.e., He in whom the covenant between Israel and God finds its personal expression;² comp. Luke xxii. 20: The New Testament in My blood, i.e., in My person offered up as a sacrifice), the Angel of the Covenant (Mal. iii. 1), while in Jer. xxxi. 31, etc., the New Covenant of the Messianic time is described at length.

The expression לרבים (to many) recalls Is. liii. 11, and the

¹ Comp. Ewald, *die Propheten des Alten Bundes* ii., p. 571.

² Comp. Schmieder on this passage (*Das Alte Test. von. O. von Gerlach* iv. i., p. 148.)

same word also refers (Dan. xi. 33) to the faithful adherents to the covenant, the conception is equivalent to that of "the remnant," and "the seed," whereof Isaiah and other prophets have spoken, the *λείμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος* (Rom. ix. 27, etc.; xi. 5, etc.). In the Old Testament these elect are many, but in the New Testament they are few.

The first clause of our verse, "*He shall confirm the Covenant with many for one week,*" is intimately connected with the following, "*And in the midst of the week He shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.*" There cannot be a covenant without sacrifice, as is evident from the very term employed to designate the making of a covenant (*כרת ברית*). It was thus the covenant of God with Noah, with Abraham, with the people of Israel, was ratified by the offering of sacrifice (Gen. viii. 20—ix. 17; xv. 9, etc.; Ex. xxiv. 3—8, comp. Heb. ix. 15, etc.; and again Luke xxii. 20 : the New Testament in My blood). But here there is a time promised for the confirmation of the covenant, in the midst of which, notwithstanding, all sacrifices should cease! This could not but appear strange to the prophet, and it was so intended. What did the angel intend to signify by this startling juxtaposition? Evidently this, that the New Covenant would be of a different nature from the Old, and from all previous covenants of God with man. The first clause of the verse represents the New Covenant as a continuation of the Old, the second clause points out its contrast to the Old. In his prayer, Daniel's heart turned with holy longing towards the holy mountain (ver. 16), and the temple, with its sacrifices and divine services, which, in Babylon, he so painfully missed. Now Gabriel, indeed, promises to him the restoration of the city and the sanctuary; but we know that he is anxious, at the same time, to lead the mind of the prophet away from these preparatory institutions to the time of the perfect salvation. Daniel, and every true Israelite with him, must now rest contented with the outward shadows of the sacrifices, which would be restored after the exile, but must wait in faith (*προσδεχόμενος*, Luke ii., 25, 38)

for the time of the promise, when sin should be perfectly atoned, the covenant of God surer than ever, and when, nevertheless, the old sacrifices should have ceased to exist. It is well known that the Psalms and prophets contain clear indications, at an early date, regarding the insufficient character of the sacrifices of the Old Testament. We are more immediately reminded of the profound Messianic passage—Ps. xl. 6–11, which begins, “*Sacrifice and offering*” (זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה) *Thou didst not desire*,” and thence proceeds to proclaim evangelical righteousness (צִדִּיק), thus declaring, in inverted order, the same message as our prophecy, which (ver. 24) promises the restoration of eternal righteousness, and then traces it in our verse to the cessation of the sacrifices and oblations. When, therefore, the Levitical institutions were approaching their end, and actually ceased, in the exile, the time had come for Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, to oppose, and with ever-increasing clearness, the eternal spiritual (pneumatic) nature of the New Covenant, to the cosmical sanctuary of the Old. This is done in the prophecy before us in its positive aspect, ver. 24, and in its negative by the announcement of the cessation of sacrifice. Ezek. xi. 19–21; xxxiv. 23, etc.; xxxvi. 25, etc.; Jer. xxxi. 31, etc.; iii. 16, are all passages where, in analogy with that under consideration, it is said, that in the times of the Messiah the ark of the Old Covenant should be remembered no more. Gabriel gives prominence to the sacrifices, because that, like the ark, they are intimately connected with the idea of the Covenant. But there is a special reference intended, which will be pointed out more properly when we speak of the significance of our passage for the time of Antiochus.

Our translation of the second part of ver. 27 is as follows:—*“And on account of the desolating summit of abominations, and till the consummation which is determined, it will pour on the desolated.”* The *מְשֻׁמֵּם* וְעַל בְּנֵי שְׂקוּצִים *Hengstenberg*, and many others, translate: “The destroyer cometh over the summit of abominations.” But the following arguments are in favour of connecting *מְשֻׁמֵּם*

with כְּנִי, as an adjective, as is done by Ewald and others:—

1. The analogy of כְּנִי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (xi. 31; comp. xii. 11), imperatively requires such a connection.
2. It is only thus we avoid the supposition of superfluous repetitions of what is contained in ver. 26.
3. It affords the only justification of the translation *βδελυμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* which is given, not only by the Septuagint, but likewise by our Lord Himself (Matt. xxiv. 15). It is the *acme* (summit) of the abominations committed by Israel, "which draws down the desolation, nay, which is the desolation itself;"¹ and this is entirely in accordance with the principle which Christ applies to this case: "*Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*" (Matt. xxiv. 28), and still more with the exact analogy of passages like Ezek. vii. 22 (comp. ix. 7), where it is said, with reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: "*My face will I turn also from them (the Israelites), and they shall pollute My secret place; for the Gentile robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.*" The worship of the people who, according to ver. 26, have, in their unbelief, murdered the Anointed of the Lord, who are only growing more obdurate in their self-righteousness and hardness of heart, who have betaken themselves to serve idols—a people which has so sinned against the Most Holy, is full of *שְׂוִיָּוִים*. These are the same abominations of whoredom which we meet again in apostate Christendom (Rev. xvii. 4, 5). Even Isaiah has already to cry out to godless Israel: "*Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto Me*" (Is. i. 12; comp. Jer. vi. 15–21; Amos v. 21, etc.; Micah vi. 6; Ps. li. 18, etc.); and Ezekiel had to speak of the *שְׂוִיָּוִים* of the people, who had broken the covenant, and thus brought upon themselves the judgment of the first destruction of Jeru-

¹ Stier, on Matthew xxiv. 15 (Sayings of the Lord Jesus ii., 549), comp. Hengstenberg, Christ. ii., 495. *Wieseler* die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel 4, Göttingen 1839. "The sacrifices of the Jews at that time, Wieseler says in reference to Matt. xxiv. 15 (page 129), are called abominations, not because they were performed according to the heathenish rite, but though the form was strictly Mosaic, yet the spirit of the worshippers was, not devotional, but heathenish.

saalem (Ez. v. 5-11 ; xviii. 21). And, in the time when our prophecy was fulfilled, we find parallels, to mention only a few instances, in the rebukes and proclamations of judgment uttered by Jesus over unbelieving Israel (Matt. xxiv. 15), which have distinct reference to this prophecy, and in the sayings of St Stephen and St Paul (Acts vii. 51-53 ; Rom. ii. 22-25 ; 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16). After the crucifixion of the Messiah, abomination was heaped upon abomination, till, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, they reached their height—in the devastation of the temple by the Zealots, who were specially meant by the prophecy of Jesus, as Elsner already saw, and of whom Josephus says, with evident reference to our passage (bell. Jud. iv. 6, 3): "They thought that the prophecy against their country was approaching its fulfilment; for it was an old prediction, that the city would be destroyed, and the sanctuary, according to the usages of war, be burned down, when a revolt would break out, and native hands desecrate the temple of God. The Zealots believed this, and offered themselves as the instruments of its fulfilment." The ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν in the common text of the lxx., which Christ explains more fully by ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ is contained, as may be seen from the instructive parallel passage in Mark (xiii. 14): θρόνους οὐ δεῖ, not in the word כְּנָה (which cannot be founded on the accidental analogy of πρεσβύτερος (Matt. iv. 5)), but in שְׂקִיצִים, which refers, not only to abominations in general, but to religious abominations, things which polluted the sanctuary; and for this reason the lxx. (e.g. Ezek. v. 11), consider that τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐμὴν ἐπίστας is a sufficient translation. As regards the translation of the words, therefore, which have met such different interpretations, and especially as regards the difficult expression כְּנָה, we agree in the main with Ewald, who renders them: *On account of the frightful height* [summit] *of abominations*. We do not connect them, however, as he does, with the preceding words, whereby he himself feels the difficulty of the ἡ (loc. cit. p. 571), but with those that follow. The וְעַל forms a parallelism with the וְעַד, which is, for the most part, overlooked:

the one designates the beginning, the laying of a foundation, the other, the consummation, the end of the Divine judgment on Israel.

The following words, זעיר-כלה ונחרצה *Phil. Matt. Hahn* explains thus: "And till the consummation, that is, till what is destined (till the appointed end of the destruction comes, and the promised kingdom of God dawns), it will pour on the desolated (land, city, and temple)."¹ These words are interpreted in our book itself by the expression, ככלות נפץ, יר-עם-קדש, "*when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people*" (xii. 7). Whether the כלה is taken in the sense of כלות, consummation, which is most probable (comp. Wieseler, p. 43), or in the sense of נפץ כלות, complete destruction, as most commentators do; in either case a boundary line of the descending curse is marked, and moreover, is represented as one destined and fixed by God Himself (lxx. : *ὡς τῆς συντελείας καιροῦ*). It is necessary, that to fulfil its whole aim, and to correspond to its whole context, the prophecy should conclude with a gleam of hope for Israel, and not with a picture of terrors (comp. Wieseler, p. 48). The impersonal חתך must be taken in connection with ver. 11, where Daniel had prayed: "*therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses;*" and thus, in these last words, we can see a connection between the revelation of the angel and the supplication of the prophet.

This view alone enables us to do away with the supposition, that the second half of ver. 27 is a mere repetition, and to perceive in it, on the contrary, a progress from the second half of ver. 26. In the one the destruction of the city and sanctuary is prophesied, in the other the continuance of its desolation to the time determined by God. Thus we perceive a clear and simple relation between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses. The first clause in each speaks of the Messiah, the second of the

¹ Vermischte Theologische Schriften of an Anonymous Student of Scripture. Winterthur, 1779, vol. ii., 329. See Roos, 52.

city and the sanctuary. The twenty-sixth verse pictures the dark side of the Messiah's history, His murder by the unbelieving people, and the night that, on account of this crime, falls over them, through the destruction of Jerusalem. The twenty-seventh verse describes the bright side in the Messiah's history, the salvation which He works out, the new covenant which He founds. In harmony with this, a corresponding light cannot be immediately brought in on the city and sanctuary, but the curse which is still hanging over them must be emphatically mentioned (*"it will pour on the desolated"*). And in order to bring the reasons for this clearly before us, the sins of the people (*"on account of the desolating summit of abominations"*) are once more placed in juxtaposition with the blessed work of the Messiah, which is appropriated by many individuals. But even here the angel is permitted to point out that this night of judgment will come to an end (*"till the consummation which is determined"*), and that after it is past a new morning will dawn on the people of God.

Finally, to take a brief survey of the entire prophecy, the prophet has indeed received strength and consolation only for the near future, which was the special object of his intercessory prayer. It is true that Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and that the people will be permitted to return from the captivity; but this restoration is merely temporary, and is succeeded by many centuries of affliction. For the more distant future, Daniel receives, on the one hand, a consolatory disclosure concerning the appearance of the Messiah, who brings unto many the full salvation of the new covenant; but, on the other hand, disclosures concerning the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, because Israel rejects its Messiah, and which must affect him deeply and painfully. The restoration of Jerusalem will not, therefore, be of long continuance, but on the contrary, a new exile is to be expected. Yet, for the far distant time, the angel does not leave the prophet without a ray of hope for Israel and Jerusalem. Thus he received in some measure the consolation he had sought

in his prayer regarding the future of his people. Gabriel begins the twenty-fourth verse with exceedingly precious promises, and from behind the dark clouds of night which cover the horizon, a glimmering ray of light shines through in blessed presentiment.

II. THE CHRONOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES.

1. THE TERMINUS A QUO OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

We have thus traced the connection of the thoughts in our prophecy. In its chief points it is as grand as it is simple. The words of the angel stand in such beautiful and natural connection with the prayer of Daniel and with each other, that we would have been inclined to take the view we have adopted, even if the calculation of the seventy prophetic weeks, or 490 years, presented greater difficulties in the exposition of the details, than is really the case. For this is the peculiarity of our prophecy, that it has also a chronological aspect, which, now that we have considered the general import of the angel's message, demands our investigation and calculation. The first point to be considered is naturally the terminus *a quo*, from which to calculate the 490 years. We might expect that ver. 25 would mention, as such, the termination of the seventy years of Jeremiah, or the return of the people from the captivity, or perhaps the rebuilding of the sanctuary, but, as the whole chapter took its starting-point from the "desolations of Jerusalem" (ver. 2), as it was for the restoration of the city that Daniel lifted up his heart in earnest supplication (ver. 16, 18, 19), so the time from which we have to calculate the prophecy, is "*the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem.*" Let us first examine what is to be understood by "the going forth of the commandment," and afterwards, what is meant by "the restoration and building of Jerusalem."

When the angel says *מִצַּח דְּבַר*, we must understand by it, in common with almost all modern interpreters, the going forth of a divine decree in analogy, with the *יֵצֵא דְּבַר* of ver. 23, but not, however, a prophet's word, as most suppose. This very parallel in the twenty-third verse is against such an interpretation. For this verse speaks not of a revelation vouchsafed to a prophet, but a decree made known by God at present only to the angels. The angels must afterwards accomplish what is necessary; and Gabriel, for instance, has to reveal the divine decree to Daniel. In like manner, the twenty-fifth verse refers primarily to a future decree of God. But this must naturally find its historical and tangible realization; for only a historical fact can form a clear *terminus a quo*. The angel, thus we may simply express it, from his heavenly stand-point, denotes historical events as divine decrees; for from thence he looks into the divine mechanism of history, and to the divine government of the world, to the organs of which he himself belongs. Comp. iv. 17: *"This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the Holy One: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will."*

The tenth chapter gives us some very remarkable glimpses into the manner in which divine decrees are executed in history, by the ministration of angels. These disclosures, which we have already considered, afford us also the necessary light for our present case. For if we seek a historical fact through which the divine decree of the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem was effected, we are necessarily led to the court of Persia; for Israel remained under the supremacy of this, the second universal monarchy, through two centuries. It is from it that permission was granted, through Cyrus, for the Jews to return from captivity, and to build the temple—an event which Daniel lived to witness; it is from it that permission was granted to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. That angel, of whom we are told before that he had a victorious struggle with the angel of

Persia (Dan. x. 12, 13), a struggle commanded by God, and who was the representative of Israel to the Persian kings, must have been the same who in consequence of a fresh command from God, which is meant by the expression דבר (ix. 25), obtained the permission of the King of Persia to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. The older commentators, who referred "the going forth of the commandment" to a Persian royal edict, were materially, though not philologically, right. And even in a philological respect, we must notice the ambiguity of the expression, which may be understood as well of the issue of a royal edict as of a divine decree. In Esther (i. 19), the very same words are employed to designate a Persian royal edict: יצא דבר מלכות. The command which went out from God is fulfilled in a command going out from the king; comp. Ezra vi. 14: "*They builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes, King of Persia.*"

Thus much about "the going forth of the commandment." But now the second question presents itself, where and when did this commandment take place? by what King of Persia was the edict for "*the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem*" given? We must turn for information to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, for they contain the history of the covenant-people after the captivity. We must, therefore, for our object, examine them somewhat more closely.

As Ezra and Nehemiah worked together personally at Jerusalem, their books also form a complete whole according to the nature of their contents, and "were regarded by the Palestinian and Greek Jews as one, or as two parts of the same book."¹ If we come to this book from our present chapter of Daniel, we find ourselves at once on familiar ground in the first verse, which starts from the same prophecy of Jeremiah as Dan. ix. For we read thus in Ezra i. 1: "*Now in the first year of Cyrus, King*

¹ De Wette, Einl. in's A. T. § 195.

of Persia, that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia," etc. Both books, that of Ezra as well as that of Nehemiah, may be divided, according to their contents, into two parts. The first part of Ezra describes (chap. i.—vi.) the return from the captivity under Joshua and Zerubbabel, and the building of the temple; the obstructions made to it by hostile neighbours; its advance, through the influence of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (v. 1, 2; vi. 14), and its completion in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, 516 B.C. (vi. 15). A long period is here passed over, and with the general formula, "now, after these things," the second part of the book (chap. vii.—x.) makes a transition to the narrative of the immigration of Ezra from Persia to Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 458–457 B.C. (vii. 1, 7). A more detailed account of this event is given in the seventh and eighth chapters, and the activity of Ezra is described in the ninth and tenth, his purification and restoration of the holy nationality, by removing the foreign wives, whilst his numerous company brought fresh strength to the weak colony (chap. viii.). The book ends without a conclusion, and with a register of those who had married foreign wives. The book of Nehemiah begins with a separate title. The first part of it (chap. i.—vii.) narrates the immigration of Nehemiah in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, 445–444 B.C., and his operations in his fatherland—the rebuilding of the city, especially the gates and walls, and the formation of various useful institutions connected therewith. The second part of the book (chap. viii.—xiii.) describes the combined activity of both of these servants of God, Ezra and Nehemiah (viii. 1, 9, 13; xii. 26), and here the restoration of the law, by Ezra, is brought prominently forward (chap. viii.—x.).

This sketch shows that the first part of the book of Ezra forms a whole by itself with regard to its historical contents, while the second part is closely connected with the book of Nehemiah, and, together with it, presents a complete historical picture. Two

periods of the history after the captivity are here brought before our view ; what lies between them, what follows after them, has no Theocratic significance, and is therefore no object of sacred historiography. The book of Esther, and it alone, still found a place in the canon, for it describes the state of the exiled nation in Persia, and thus forms a pendant, a complement to the narratives written by Ezra and Nehemiah, of what took place in the Holy Land, and characterises, besides, that other side of the history of the people of God after the captivity, the scene of which lies in the kingdom of the world. The two periods to which we have referred are distinguished and placed in juxtaposition with each other, even in the book of Nehemiah (xii. 47 ; comp. ver. 26). The first is the time of Prince Zerubbabel and the high-priest Joshua, who were aided by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. The second is the time of the priest Ezra, and the governor Nehemiah, assisted by the prophet Malachi.¹ In both periods we see royal, priestly, and prophetic men at the head of God's people. We might designate the first as the period of the building of the temple ; the second as the period of the restoration of the people and of the rebuilding of the city. The former is the time of religious, the latter of political, restoration. The former embraces a period of twenty years (536–516 B.C.). We cannot say with certainty how long the second lasted, as neither the book of Malachi, nor the conclusion of Nehemiah, furnish us with chronological data. The general opinion is, however, that it embraced nearly half a century. It commenced, therefore, with the immigration of Ezra, 457 B.C., and we can trace distinctly the first twenty-five years, for Nehemiah came into the Holy Land thirteen years after Ezra, and remained there as governor for twelve years (Neh. v. 14 ; xiii. 6). Then he travelled back to the court of Persia (432 B.C.), but returned after the lapse of an unknown time (לִקְיָ יָמִים, interpreted by some, but without sufficient reason, “at the end of a year”) to

¹ Comp. Hävernick, Einl. in's A. T. ii. 2, p. 431–434.

his native land. Prideaux and Winer (bibl. Realwörterbuch, 3d edit. ii. p. 147) render it probable that this return of Nehemiah did not take place before the eleventh year of Darius Nothus (414-413 B.C.). How long Nehemiah lived and laboured in Palestine after this, we are not told; but even if, as Josephus reports, he reached an advanced age, it could not have been many years after the last period referred to. We may thus safely assume that the revelation of the Old Testament terminated with the death of Nehemiah and Malachi in the last decennium of the fifth century before Christ. Already Josephus gives utterance to the consciousness that the second period of restoration by the favour of Artaxerxes, was the last evening-red of the Old Testament day. In a well-known passage (contr. Apion i. 8) he says, "Many things have been written from Artaxerxes' time to our own, but the same religious authority is not yielded to them as to the former (*πιστεύουσιν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἡξίωται*), because the sure succession of the prophets exists no longer (the chain of revelation is broken off). It is characteristic of the people of God, that the first period of the restoration after the captivity, was exclusively devoted to the rebuilding of the temple; first, the things that are God's had to be rendered unto God, then the things of the people to the people. For this reason, that first period, under Joshua and Zerubbabel, was far from being the perfect restoration. Only a small colony, of about fifty thousand Jews, settled with these two men in Palestine (Ezra ii. 64, etc.), and even these became intermingled again with the heathen who dwelt around them, and led a sad existence, sinking, as it seems, ever deeper "in great affliction and reproach" (Neh. i. 3; Ezra ix. 6-15), especially during the sixty years which Ezra passes over in silence. For this reason, a second and more thorough restoration became necessary,—a restoration which should mould the national life into a genuine Jewish form, and this was the calling given by God to Ezra and Nehemiah. Not merely the restoration of the temple, but also of the holy nationality of the law and of the holy city, was requisite, if Israel was to become a

people of God in the full sense of the word. So long as one of these elements was yet wanting, the people had no assured and no vigorous existence. The inner work of restoration was entrusted to Ezra the priest; the purification of the nation from heathenish elements and re-introductions of the law, while Nehemiah, the royal cup-bearer and governor, assumed the control of the external work, the rebuilding of the city and the political institutions. Thus it is only with Ezra that the full revival of Israel, after the captivity, can properly be said to commence, and the consciousness of this has taken very deep root in the nation. For, as is well known, Ezra, the restorer of the nation and law, is held among the Jews for a second Moses. At the first, Moses, the second time, Ezra, founded the existence of the holy people.

The question now arises—and to which the answer is clear from our preceding remarks—in which of the two periods of the sacred history after the captivity, we have to seek for the *terminus a quo* of the *seventy weeks of Daniel*? As it is said in ver. 24, "*Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city,*" and as the *terminus a quo* is more particularly defined in ver. 25, "*from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem,*" there cannot possibly be a more distinct reference to the second period. And though Calvin, Œcolampadius, Kleinert, and others, take as the commencement of the seventy weeks the edict of Cyrus, 536 B.C. (Ezra i. 1-4), though Luther, in whose exposition there is much confusion about the Persian kings; Bengel, who in accordance with his Apocalyptic chronology, understands by a prophetic week 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, and others, take the edict of the second year of Darius Hystaspes 520 B.C. (Ezra vi. 1-12); we may regard these interpretations as sufficiently refuted by our previous analysis. The edict of Darius, moreover, is of no extraordinary importance, nor can the edict of Cyrus have been meant, as we may understand from the book of Daniel itself. For we find the prophet, in the third year of that king, in deep affliction for his people (x. 1-3), and we see from this how little the restoration of Israel,

consequent on the edict of the first year, corresponded even to those hopes which the revelation in the ninth chapter had yet left for the period after the exile. Both edicts, that of Cyrus and that of Darius, refer solely to the building of the temple; and though Jerusalem is mentioned (Ezra i. 2, etc.; vi. 3, 5, 9, 12), and though, in the nature of things, houses must have been there at the time in order to the building of the temple (comp. Haggai i. 4), yet we cannot trace the slightest vestige of a royal permission to restore the people and rebuild the city. On the contrary, this is expressly prohibited by the same Artaxerxes Longimanus, who afterwards granted it, and he withheld it, owing to the slanderous reports of the Samaritans (Ezra iv. 7-22); for it is not Smerdis but Artaxerxes who is meant in this passage, and everywhere else in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the name Arthasastha (אַרְתַּחַשְׁתָּה) is introduced.¹ If we consider how strong Jerusalem was by natural position if its restoration were once earnestly begun, and what efforts the siege of it cost Nebuchadnezzar, and, at a later period, Titus, we can easily understand the policy which we meet in the edict of Artaxerxes, already quoted. It is evident that the Persian kings hesitated to give up such a point of advantage to the Jews, who were suspected of revolts and tumults. We find, therefore, the city still unbuilt in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ix. 8; x. 13; Neh. i. 3; ii. 3, 5; iii. 34; iv. 1; vii. 4). Though a religious toleration might be willingly granted to the Jews, it was difficult for them to obtain a political one.²

It was as late as the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra vii. 1, 7), that the affairs of Israel took a more favourable turn, and made a more important progress. It is then that the commandment to restore and rebuild Jerusalem must have gone

¹ Comp. Schultz in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1853, iii., pp. 686-698.

² What *Vaihinger* says about a building of the walls of Jerusalem by Mordecai, etc., and a destruction of the same by Megabyzus (*Stud. u. Kritik*. 1854, i., 128), is only hypothesis.

forth from God ; it is then, that in consequence of it, that angel achieved a new victory over the representative angel of the Persian monarchy, and gained the precedence over the ruler of the world. From this time Artaxerxes shows himself peculiarly favourable to the covenant people, and makes them far more important concessions than even Cyrus and Darius. In the *seventh year* of his reign he allows Ezra, furnished with royal letters of high importance (Ezra vii. 11-26, especially ver. 18 and 25), to go to Jerusalem ; in the *twentieth year* of his reign, he accords Nehemiah the same favour, and furnishes him with the express permission to rebuild the city (Neh. ii.). And thus the question is reduced to this, which of these two years, the arrival of Ezra or that of Nehemiah at Jerusalem, is to be viewed as the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks. In modern times, *Hengstenberg* and *Hävernick*, following the example of some Church fathers, have decided in favour of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and their view has been generally adopted by believers in revelation, and has also passed into several popular Bible commentaries (comp. *Sack*. Apologetik, 2d edit., p. 335 ; *Heim* and *Wilhelm Hoffmann*, die grossen Propheten, p. 864, etc.; Handbuch der Bibelerklärung, published by the Calw Society, vol. i., p. 891 ; Das A. T. von *O. von Gerlach*, continued by *Schneider*, iv. 2, p. 66). *Calovius*, *Newton*, *Geier*, *Buddeus*, *Prideaux*, *Sostmann*, *Deyling*, *Preiswerk* (Morgenl. 1838, p. 257, etc.), *Gausson* (iii., p. 340), and others, opposed to this view, take the seventh year of Artaxerxes as the starting-point for the calculation of the seventy weeks. In accordance with our preceding analysis, we can adhere only to this second view.

We have arrived at the conclusion that the time of Ezra and Nehemiah formed one continuous period of blessing for Israel, and it would be, therefore, contrary to our natural expectations, if it were not the fundamental beginning of this period which is meant, but a second terminus from which nothing essentially new is dated, but only a further development of the work begun

by Ezra. This secondary importance of the edict relating to Nehemiah, is indicated in the holy narrative itself by the simple circumstance, that it does not mention the edict at all (Neh. ii. 7, 8), while the royal letters to Ezra are communicated at once (Ezra vii.). Again, if we regard the world-power from which the execution of the divine commandment takes its earthly and historical beginning, it is the same king Artaxerxes who sends away Ezra and Nehemiah. His heart, therefore, was favourably inclined to Israel in the seventh year of his reign; the angel, and, consequently, the good divine influences, had even then gained the ascendancy over him. The consciousness of this is distinctly expressed by Ezra himself, who, after recording the royal edict, continues, "*Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, which hath put such a thing as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem; and hath extended mercy unto me before the king and his counsellors, and before all the king's mighty princes*" (Ezra vii. 27, 28). We see here plainly a consciousness that the world-power was influenced by God in favour of Israel. Ezra and Nehemiah likewise act in the consciousness that as those who are executing a divine decree, they stand under the peculiar guidance and protection of God, and hence those beautiful words which recur so often in their diaries; "*according to the good hand of the Lord my God upon me*" (Ezra vii. 6, 9, 28; viii. 18, 22; Neh. ii. 8, 18).

But all these arguments would lose their cogency, if the words of the angel (Dan. ix. 24, 25), compelled us to take the express permission to rebuild the city, given to Nehemiah, as the starting point for our calculation. This, however, is not the case. Neither the words themselves necessitate us to think merely of the external building of the city, nor was Nehemiah the first to receive this permission. The commission of Ezra, to begin with the second point, is so extensive as essentially to include the rebuilding of the city. He himself says so clearly and distinctly when he says, in his prayer of repentance (Ezra ix. 9), "*Our God hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia,*

to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof (of our God), and to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem" (נִרְךָ an encircling wall, not merely the building, but also the fortification of the city). Thus Ezra expressly includes in his commission what was afterwards executed by Nehemiah, according to a new permission of the king. The entire narrative of the grant of this later permission (Neh. ii. 1, etc.), is of such a kind that we see it was no longer so novel and important a concession as it had been in Ezra's time; it is not now so much the thing, but chiefly the person that is considered. Nehemiah is the king's cup-bearer, and requires, therefore, to be discharged from his office, a favour which the king and queen graciously bestow on him. There is no mention made here, as there was in the case of Ezra, of a turning of "*the king, and his counsellors and all the king's mighty princes*;" it is not an official act of royalty, but a personal favour of Artaxerxes. So secondary is the importance of the mission of Nehemiah compared to that of Ezra.

But the words of the angel do not refer merely to the external building of the city. It is surely improbable that the event which is to form the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks can be merely external, and, therefore, more or less accidental. It must be invested with deeper significance. The words of the angel (ver. 24) are not simply: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy holy city," but "upon thy people and thy holy city." The building of the city is thus viewed in profounder connection with the restoration of the people, and we have already seen that the former was the mission of Nehemiah, the latter, of Ezra. And when the *terminus a quo* is described more fully (ver. 25) as "the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, the latter expression suggests not only gates and walls, towers and houses, but the entire *πολις* and *civitas*; and Jerusalem means, as it was expressed in the preceding verse, both people and city. The two verbs, besides, which are employed, "restore" and "build" may be similarly explained as "city" and "people;" before the

restoration, the inward renovation of Jerusalem was the work of Ezra; the "building of streets and walls," the outward restoration, was the calling of Nehemiah. We may adduce in favour of this view that Jerusalem is here taken in a deeper and fuller sense, the general *usus loquendi* of the prophets, from which it will appear that this explanation is not only possible but absolutely necessary. It is the same also in a worldly sense, that the whole character of a people is represented in the metropolis of their country: We need only instance Nineveh, Babylon, Rome, and in modern times, Paris. If the metropolis is taken or destroyed, the people is subjugated. But this may be said of Jerusalem in a far higher sense, for it was not only the political centre, but owing to its temple, "the city of the great King" (Matt. v. 35), the dwelling-place of Jehovah, the centre of all which made Israel the only and chosen people of God. Hence in our passage (ver. 26-27) the angel, and in after times the Lord Jesus (Matt. xxiv.), comprehends the entire prophecy about Israel in a prophecy about Jerusalem. The judgment on the city is the judgment on the people; death consists in the dying of the body. But the city is the body of the congregation, as the congregation is the soul of the city; and thus Jerusalem stands as the representative of both congregation and city. Throughout Holy Scripture we see the connection between men and their dwelling-place, or tracing it up farther, between nature and spirit, comp. Gen. vi. 11-13; Levit. xviii. 24, etc.; Deut. xxviii. 15 etc. In the first of these passages, which refers to the whole human race, it is likewise the whole earth, in the other two passages where Israel alone is placed in the light of revelation, it is only the holy land, to which God's word, threatenings and promises, are directed. From the time of David, Zion and Jerusalem became the two most prominent places in the Holy Land; the house of David the most prominent family among the people (Ps. lxxviii. 68, etc.), and this prominence runs through all the prophetic books. In this sense we find the city of God spoken of as the appearing, or the representation of the congrega-

tions, as early as in the Psalms (xlvi. 5, xlviii. 2, etc., lxxxvii. 2-8, comp. ver. 5). Passing on to the prophets and limiting ourselves to Isaiah, we find the same view in the very first chapter: "*How is the faithful city become an harlot!*" (ver. 21); and the sixtieth and sixty-second chapters describe the New Jerusalem, with its gates and walls (lx. 11, 18, lxii. 6, 10), in such a manner that it is evident the city is at the same time a living thing, the spiritual building of God, the restored people. This extends into the Revelation of John, in which the adulterous church appears identical with the city of Babylon, the transfigured church identical with the New Jerusalem (comp. Delitzsch *das Hohelied* p. 231). Just as the Apocalypse treats of the end of the New Testament history (chap. xxi. 22), so in our passage the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem stands for the last concluding epoch of the Old Testament history. Jerusalem, in the Revelation of John, is the transfigured congregation of the New Covenant, transfigured in its natural organism; here the congregation of the Old Covenant with its organism, Israel, appears as Theopolis, as *civitas Dei* with its temple, its external legal institution, and its holy city. The history of salvation in the New Testament finds its consummation in the appearance of the heavenly Jerusalem; the same history in the Old Testament, in the restoration of the earthly Jerusalem which is to wait, though in sorrow, for its bridegroom, the Messiah, as a bride adorned for her husband.

After these remarks we cannot but think it too outward a view of the words of the angel regarding the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem, as a misunderstanding both of their essential contents and of the essential character of the history after the captivity, when Hengstenberg and others commence their calculations of the seventy weeks with the return of Nehemiah; and we may now state as the result gained by our investigation, and confirmed by all collateral considerations, that *the return of Ezra to Jerusalem, 457 B.C., is to be viewed as the terminus a quo of the seventy weeks.* In this event the renewed and increased favour of

the Persian world-power towards Israel is represented, and with it begins the new prosperity of Jerusalem. The external rebuilding of the city stands in the same relation to the commencement of the seventy prophetic weeks of Daniel, as the external destruction of the city, bears to the commencement of the seventy years of Jeremiah. These begin as early as the year 606 B.C., and therefore eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem, for at that date the kingdom of Judah came under the Babylonian sway, and ceased to exist as an independent Theocracy. In like manner the seventy weeks begin thirteen years before the rebuilding of the town, because then the re-establishment of the Theocracy began. Only by our view, therefore, can a perfect parallelism be obtained between the type and the antitype. We can observe a repetition of those phenomena at the end of the seventy weeks. They extend until the year 33 A.D. From this date Israel was at an end, though the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans did not take place till the year 70 A.D. Thus, we see here a universal law of the divine government of the world, and of the kingdom of God, a law whose operation we may observe even in Paradise. Adam and Eve became subject to death on the very day they sinned; yet it was centuries after that they actually died (Gen. ii. 17, v. 5). It is said by Hosea (Hos. xiii. 1, 2) speaking of the kingdoms of the ten tribes; "*When Ephraim offended in Baal, he died; but now they sin more and more, and have made them molten images,*" etc.¹ In like manner, we have seen that the kingdom of the Persians is (Dan. xi. 2) viewed as dead from the time of Xerxes, in whose reign it was conquered by Greece, and that from this date it is no more considered, though it continued to vegetate long after. And similarly Isaiah, in the second part of his prophecy, lives, as it were, altogether in the captivity, though he preceded it by more than a hundred years: for the abominations of Israel were themselves the desolation, sin is itself death (Matt. viii. 22). This is that divine glance which penetrates from with-

¹ Comp. Schmieder on this passage.

out with the very essence and reality of things, which sees into the heart, and of which it is said : "*It seeth not as man seeth ; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart*" (1 Sam. xvi. 7).

If, in order to gain certainty both of the fulfilment of the prophecy and of the correctness of our interpretation, we look from this point of view to the end of the seventy weeks, we shall find the *most accurate coincidence in the calculation*. The 490 years extend to the year 33 A.D., a final date which we shall afterwards consider. The fixed chronological point from which to calculate, we find in the death of the Messiah, which, as we have already shown, falls in the middle of the last week,—that is, three and a half years before the end of the whole period, consequently the year 30 A.D. But it is in this very year that, according to the soundest chronological investigations, and the most generally adopted reckoning, in which Bengel and Wieseler, for example, coincide, that the Lord Jesus was crucified (comp. Wieseler's *Chronologische Synopse*. p. 485). Calvin is therefore right when he remarks : "How clear and sure a testimony we have in Daniel's prophecy, when he counts the years till the advent of Christ, so that we may, with boldness, oppose Satan and all the scorn of the ungodly, if it be but true that the book of Daniel was in men's hands before Christ came ! Those who do set themselves against the truth of God must at last yield to the conviction that Christ is the true Redeemer, whom God hath promised before the foundation of the world, seeing that He hath not revealed Him without such trustworthy evidence, as no mathematician can bring forward the like." We are reminded here of the saying of Newton, quoted in the introduction. Modern times have scarcely produced men of more acute mind than the Reformer of Geneva and the Mathematician of Cambridge, and we see how they regarded this ninth chapter.

Hengstenberg, placing the commencement of the seventy weeks so late as the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, has, consequently, to oppose the current chronology, and endeavours (Christ. ii. pp.

541, etc.) to show, with great acuteness and erudition, on the evidence of Usher, Vitringa, and Krüger, that this king commenced to reign about nine years sooner than is generally supposed, and so obtains the year 455 B.C. as his *terminus a quo*. Hofmann (die 70 Jahre, etc., pp. 91, etc.) and Kleinert (Dorpater Beiträge, ii., pp. 1-232) have attacked and successfully refuted Hengstenberg's criticism, and its result. Wieseler (die 70 Wochen, p. 79) and Hitzig (p. 172) agree with the treatise of the last-mentioned learned writer. As far as I can see, Hengstenberg has done more harm than good to the cause of the general result of his interpretation by his chronological suppositions. Those who are either willingly or unwillingly ignorant of the history of exegesis, and the remarkable unanimity of former commentators on the chief points of this prophecy, may be led to imagine that the orthodox interpretation stands in need of every kind of artificial support, and as if the Messianic exposition of the ninth chapter were disproved if Hengstenberg's chronology were refuted.¹ For my own part, I must confess, that having been formerly an adherent of Hofmann's view (which will be considered below), though not blind to many difficulties it pre-

¹ Ebrard (Offen. 6; Joh. 74, etc.) is even bolder than Hengstenberg, and assumes (1) the text to be corrupted, and wishes to place, instead of the seven weeks (ver. 25), seventy-seven. This violent stroke (2) leads to him to the still worse assumption, that the seventy weeks in verse 24, are not an accurate chronological intimation, and are therefore rendered more special (and more correct, consequently) by verse 25. For, according to Ebrard, there were to elapse seventy-seven prophetic weeks between the edict of Cyrus (538 B.C.) and the birth of Christ (according to Ebrard 6 B.C.), and sixty-two weeks between the real building of the city, under Nehemiah (445 B.C.), and the birth of Christ. Hence, he declares (3) the usual and natural analysis of the seventy weeks into $7 + 62 + 1$, to be a "delusion;" and (4) he has to suppose two series of years, mostly running parallel to each other, a supposition unnecessary and improbable; (5), he has to insert arbitrarily a new *terminus a quo* after the Athnach, verse 25; (6), after all this, his calculation does not turn out exact; (7), he gives an arbitrary exposition of the last week, by making the first half to embrace 30-40 years from Christ's death to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and the second half, the many centuries from the destruction of Jerusalem to the conversion of Israel, a future event even to us.

sented, Hengstenberg's exposition impressed me so strongly at first sight as essentially true, that I felt that this ancient exposition required only to be apprehended more correctly, and proved more thoroughly. Meanwhile, the judicious words of Preiswerk, upon this question, claim our earnest attention (loc. citat., p. 286): "We ought not, considering the uncertainty of ancient chronology, to lay much stress on calculating the exact year. For, though the calculation be very successful, yet so soon as another interpreter follows another chronological system, what has been so laboriously reared up, is apparently thrown down. But if we grant, from the outset, that ancient chronology is uncertain, and be content to point out a mere general coincidence of the prophetic with the historical time; if we show that possibly even a minute coincidence took place, and, at least, that no one can prove the contrary, we shall have done enough to prove the truth of the ancient prophecy, and our work cannot be overthrown by others." Let us consider likewise the remarks of Sack (Apologetik, p. 336), "It could not have been within the power of the ordinary reader of Scripture to be an accurate student of chronology; hence those who could know the *terminus a quo* only in a general way, as falling within the time of the commandments and permissions given by the Persian kings, could, consequently, know the time of the Messiah's appearance only in the same general but sufficiently accurate way; it was sufficient to strengthen their faith, and to keep their expectation alive. And, in like manner, it may be said of Bible readers now-a-days, that though the means and results of learned chronological investigations are inaccessible to them, yet, from the simplest knowledge of history, they may arrive at a conviction that prophecy is fulfilled in Christ. It is but right, however, that the Christian Church should endeavour to approach, by scientific investigation, to a perfect chronological understanding of prophecy."

Though, after our investigation, we can no longer be doubtful of the *terminus a quo* from which to calculate the seventy weeks, it may yet seem, for a moment, startling that that point lies in a

period distant by a century from the year in which Daniel received this revelation, and a point, too, which is not so clearly described by the angel as to preclude the uncertainties which have at all times prevailed regarding it. To throw some light on this difficulty, we subjoin the following remarks :—

With regard to Daniel himself, the object was not accurately to fix to him individually the year of the Messiah's coming. As he lived several centuries before the event, this would have had no interest for him. We have seen, previously, that he is raised up and endowed with the prophetic gift, not for himself, but for future generations. He was therefore not to be enabled to calculate the time exactly ; the object of the revelation was rather to show him, in general, that the Messianic salvation was not so near as he thought, but separated from him by about half a millennium.

Even for the people of Israel, to whom the message of Gabriel was sent, the calculation of the seventy weeks could not be clearly and plainly laid down. We know that it is an essential feature of prophecy to reveal and at the same time to veil the future : It does not purport to be a history, much less a chronology, of coming events ; it does not put them as clearly before our eyes as the past ; this would destroy man's ethical relation to the future. And, for this reason, the present prophecy needed to be veiled in some obscurity, however clearly it might contain the intimation that 490 years would elapse from the permission to restore Jerusalem after the captivity to the time of the Messiah. It is its very clearness in the main, which renders necessary this obscurity. The fulfilment of the eternal decree of God must not be a mere arithmetical problem, which the profane understanding also may calculate by simple arithmetic, but a holy enigma, which shall stimulate to a faithful observation of the ways of God, to a diligent study of the history of His people. "*None of the wicked shall understand ; but the wise shall understand*" (Dan. xii. 10). In an instance like this, where the chronological intimations are clear and unmistakeable, such a relative veiling of the truth

could be accomplished only by concealing the starting-point, and, as we shall see, the terminal-point of the seventy weeks, in a certain obscurity, and by connecting it with facts which can be recognised in their full significance by the faithful student of Scripture alone.

Thus, pious Israelites of the time after the captivity, who meditated on the prophecy of Daniel and longed for its fulfilment, might seriously ask themselves at each of the edicts of the Persian kings, whether this was the commencement of the seventy weeks foretold by the angel. The "wise" who lived at the time of the edict were to consider the signs of the times, and they who lived later were to search in the Scriptures when the period spoken of by the angel began. The faithful of the Old Covenant had the same task, with regard to Daniel, in the centuries unilluminated by revelation, as we have now with regard to the Apocalypse (comp. Matt. xvi. 2, 3; xxiv. 33). And that they were earnest in this search we may learn from the well-known story of Josephus (Arch. xi. 8, 5), according to which, Alexander the Great, on his arrival at Jerusalem, was shown the prophecies of Daniel that referred to him.¹ The plurality of the edicts afforded some room for uncertainty, as is proved by different Christian expositors choosing different edicts as starting-points; and hence Hess (i., p. 196) remarks, "It seems to me that we are not forced to understand the angel's words as referring only to one of these edicts, but that they refer to the whole period during which such edicts were given, revoked, and renewed. Here we remind the reader also of the remark of Sack, already quoted, that to strengthen faith and keep alive expectation, it was sufficient to have only a general conception of the time. And history makes it manifest that prophecy entirely fulfilled this object. For it is a well known fact, that at the time of Christ, the expectation of the Messiah had spread exten-

¹ Comp. on the credibility of this account, corroborating the genuineness of Daniel, *Hengstenberg Beitr.* 277. J. J. Hess. loc. cit. ii. 28.

sively, not only among pious Israelites (Luke ii. 25, 26, 38; xxiii. 51), but also generally among Jews and Gentiles, as we learn from Josephus and the well-known passages of Suetonius and Tacitus. Our prophecy especially must have contributed much to this. It is evident from Matt. xxiv. 15, and several passages of Josephus (comp. as above, p. 106), that at that time Daniel was much studied by the Jews, and that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was distinctly understood as contained in it. Hengstenberg (Beitr., p. 265; Christol., p. 576), Hävernick (p. 389, etc.), and Wieseler (die 70 Wochen, p. 148, etc.), give further particulars. The difference in the Messianic expectations is moreover characteristic. The believers hoped, in accordance with our passage, for the consolation of Israel, namely, redemption in Jerusalem, and salvation by the remission of sins (Luke ii. 25, 30, 38; i. 77); they recognised in the Messiah the Lamb of God which beareth the sin of the world (John i. 29). The others, carnally minded, were blinded, so that they did not see the inward essential conditions of salvation, and applying hastily Messianic passages, such as Dan. ii. and vii., dreamed only of the political world-wide supremacy of the Jews. Josephus (bell. Jud. vi. 5, 4): "What gave them courage to fight was a saying found in the Holy Scriptures, that about that time (*κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον*) one of their nation was to obtain the government of the world." Tacitus (*hist.* v. 13): "Many had the conviction that it stood written in their ancient priestly books, that just about that very time (*eo ipso tempore*) the East would rise up in great power, and men from Judea obtain the government of the world." Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4): "The old and common opinion was spread through all the East, that it was destined by fate, men of Judea should obtain at this time the government of the world."

We have seen that the revelation of the angel could accomplish its essential purpose, notwithstanding a certain latitude of interpretation; at the same time, it was also possible for the Israelites, as it is for us at present, to find the true starting-point,

and hence to form an exact and accurate calculation. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah lay also before them; they had even better means of understanding them than we. Perhaps they saw clearly what we see only as probable, that these books were written with express reference to the ninth chapter of Daniel. We have already pointed out, that in all probability Ezra and Nehemiah were acquainted with our prophet and studied him. We have likewise shown that the book of Ezra starts from the same point of view as our chapter, the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the seventy years of the captivity. The book of Nehemiah, in like manner, begins with distressing accounts of the affliction, which still continued, and of the desolation of the holy people and holy city, which lead us back to the fundamental views of Dan. ix. We have pointed out also that Ezra and Nehemiah, though they received no direct revelation from on high, yet wrote in the consciousness of a special divine commission, of a divine decree concerning them, which shaped their whole life. We refer here especially to the prayers of these two servants of God (Ezra ix. 6, etc.; Neh. i. 5, etc.), which breathe so much the spirit of Daniel's prayer of repentance, that Hitzig also (p. 144) remarks, that the ninth chapter of Daniel bears so much affinity to the first and ninth chapters of Nehemiah, that the one author must have written in dependence on the other. There is nothing more natural than that men like Ezra and Nehemiah, who belong to the late births of the Old Covenant, and are not so much productive as reproductive and restorative, should study and should educate themselves by the prophets, and that prophet above all others, whose important revelations refer to the times after the captivity, which was also their own. Thus the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are an evidence for the genuineness of Daniel, similar to that adduced by Hofmann in favour of our book from Zechariah, and are at the same time an evidence in favour of the correctness of the general view we advocate concerning the prophecy of the seventy weeks.

Ought we not also to find here the reason why the collectors

of the Old Testament canon placed the book of Daniel immediately before Ezra and Nehemiah? We merely propose the question; we make no assertion. And if Ezra himself made the collection, the circumstance would be still more striking.¹ Perhaps he placed the book of Daniel immediately before his own, because he felt that he himself brought about and described the commencement of the fulfilment of those prophecies which the angel had announced (Dan. ix).

II. ANALYSIS OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

The seventy weeks are mentioned by Gabriel, not only as a continuous whole (ver. 24), but they are separated into three very unequal parts (ver. 25-27): $7 + 62 + 1$. This reminds us at once of a similar analysis which we find vii. 25; xii. 7; a time, times, and a half. We see that Apocalyptic writings delight in such chronological divisions. But this general remark only leads us to inquire why this analysis is made here.

The text itself leads us to consider the last week first, for it is not only the most minutely characterised, but the most distinctly separated from the rest. While the seven and the sixty-two weeks are mentioned together in ver. 25, and in ver. 26 we are merely told what is to take place after them; the seventieth week is prominently brought forward in ver. 27. We have already seen that it is a time of confirming the Covenant, more particularly a time of the revelation of the New Covenant at Jerusalem, where the Messianic salvation is to be offered to the people of Israel. As the Sabbath dedicated to God succeeds the working days and concludes the week, so the seventieth week is the consummation of the preceding days of small things. To the period of the sixty-nine weeks is allotted the task of restoring and building Jerusalem, and thus preparing a place for the Messiah where He can accomplish His work (ver. 25, 26). This is a working day's

¹ Keil, Einl. in's A. T., p. 549.

labour when compared with the Sabbatic work of confirming the Covenant. The Messianic time is the holy festival and Sabbath-day of Israel's history, in which God yet once more offers to the people all His mercies, but in which also the history of Israel comes to its temporary conclusion. This parallelism between the seventy weeks and the seven days of a week, is suggested and indicated by the text, in which the whole is viewed from the idea of weeks (שבועים).

It is more difficult to discover the reason for the separation of the first seven weeks. The text assigns them no peculiar character, but mentions them together with the sixty-two weeks, as a time of restoration and of the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Hengstenberg takes the *לחשיב ולבנות ירושלם* (ver. 25) to be parallel to the *עד-משיח נניד* and as *terminus intermedius* in this way, that the angel meant seven weeks until the rebuilding of the city would be finished, and from that time till the Messiah, sixty-two weeks. He endeavours to prove from Herodotus and other profane writers, that Jerusalem was restored to be a large city after above forty-nine years, or, according to his chronology, in the year 406 B.C. But apart from the precarious and unsatisfactory character of this mode of argument, such a solution of the question is impossible, on purely exegetical grounds, as has been clearly pointed out, for example, by Wieseler. For not only would the use of *ל* be unintelligible in this connection, but *דבר* also would be meaningless, unless the *לחשיב* etc., were to be taken twice, as seems indeed to be Hengstenberg's inclination, but which is most unnatural. All the arguments which, with his usual tone of confidence, he advances in defence of his explanation (Christol., p. 454), have so little cogency, that we can only expect to see here again the right view of the prophecy made assailable to the enemy by unneeded violent proofs (Hitzig, p. 172). On the contrary, we must admit that the text contains no material reason for the first portion of seven weeks. They are, to speak generally, brought forward as the fundamental part of the period of restoration. If we wish to understand

more about them, we must turn to the consideration of the inward significance of the number seven, which at the time of his Christology, Hengstenberg neglected, while in his more recent works, he exaggerates the symbolism of numbers. The last week may give us a hint for understanding the reason of the especial prominence given to the first seven. As the seventieth week is separated from the rest as a period of revelation, so it may likewise be with the seven weeks. And this conjecture will derive confirmation, if we bear in mind the inward dignity of the number seven to which we have already directed attention in our remarks on the week of salvation.

The analysis of the seventy weeks is based on the principle of the number seven. They end with seven years; they begin with seven times seven. The number seven, it is well known, has a mystical and symbolical significance throughout Scripture, and especially throughout prophecy, which, however, in no way lessens its chronological value. It is the sum of the number of God, three; and the number of the world, four, and is thus the number of the divine in its relation to the world, of the inward perfection of God, as manifested and viewed in His manifold works and judgments. Where this number prevails, there God is revealed, and *vice versa*. The inward objective foundation of this law lies in the seven spirits of God, who are the mediators of all his revelations in the world (Rev. i. 4, iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6). The outward manifestation of the dignity of this number begins as early as the first book and first chapter of the Old Testament, where the work of creation is divided by it,¹ whilst it prevails throughout the whole of the Apocalypse, the last book of the New Testament. Ten, again, is the number of what is human, worldly; it represents the fulness of the world's manifold activity and development. We may illustrate this by examples taken from our book, where the world-power issues in ten heads and

¹ Cicero styles the number seven *rerum omnium fere nodus* (*Somn. Scip. 5*). Comp. with the above remark on the symbolical numbers, e.g. Hofmann, Weiss. u. Erfüll. i., p. 85. Delitzsch. Genesis, p. 412.

ten horns (ii. 41, 42, vii. 7, 24). The number seventy is ten multiplied by seven; the human is here moulded and fixed by the divine. For this reason the seventy years of exile are a symbolical sign of the time during which the power of the world would, according to God's will, triumph over Israel, during which it would execute the divine judgments on God's people. And in the seven times seventy years, or seventy weeks, the world-number ten is likewise contained; the people of God is as yet under the power of the world; it is as yet, for the most part, a time of affliction and distress (צוֹק וְדַעְתִּים, ver. 25); but the number of the divine is multiplied by itself, and so receives an essential increase of strength; God's people and kingdom in the world, experience in this time a revival. And yet more than this. God reveals Himself still more immediately and fully in the seventy weeks; for, in the beginning, a period of seven times seven years is specially mentioned, in the end a period of seven. As we find the revelation of the New Testament plainly promised in the latter, so that of the Old Testament, then still in progress, is signified in the former.

We have pointed out above, that the revelation of the Old Testament concludes with the restoration of the Israelitish Theopolis, which had now but to wait for the coming of the bridegroom, the Messiah. We have further pointed out, that the restoration was effected by Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, whose lives and labours extend over a period of about half a century, that is, *seven weeks* (comp. Preiswerk, p. 278). The three men just mentioned were the last whose writings were received into the canon of the Old Testament; with them, sacred history, the history of revelation under the Old Covenant, ceases—a fact which was well known to the Jewish people, as we saw from the passage of Josephus, already quoted (c. Ap. i. 8). Lest it should seem, on account of these relations of numbers, that because the seven weeks contain the number seven multiplied by itself, whilst in the last week this number occurs only in its first power, therefore the final period of

revelation under the Old Covenant is invested with a higher dignity than that of the New ; the angel at once dispels such an illusion, first, by hastily passing over the seven weeks, while he enters into a minute description of the last week ; and, secondly, by taking the seven weeks into conjunction with the sixty-two, as belonging to the time of distress, thus making the seventieth week, both by its prominent position and the minute picture of its events, stand out clear, in sublime and unrivalled dignity. On the other hand, we see the seven weeks plainly separated from the sixty-two weeks, in order to show the peculiar fundamental character of the time of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, as distinguished from the centuries that followed ; to point out the difference between the last remnants of the revelation of the Old Testament and that period which enjoyed no revelations at all. The *Athnach* may have had that place, where we are astonished to find it, in order to point out the marked distinction more strongly, to heighten the emphasis which lies on the seven weeks, and to arrest the reader's thought and attention. This accent is often found, not at the chief division of the verse (e.g. ver. 2), where it separates between the verb and the object, but (namely, Dan. xi. 5 ; Ezek. xxxiv. 19 ; Ps. xxxvi. 8, lxxxiv. 3 ; Prov. vi. 26) where it separates between the verb and the subject, in order that stress may be laid on the latter, and a kind of antithesis gained (comp. Hengstenberg, S. 464). However, we advance this opinion on the *Athnach* in our passage only as a supposition ; we are, moreover, not bound by the accents, and especially in a chapter concerning the Messiah, where a false accentuation may have sprung from erroneous views of the passage, and from Jewish prejudices of the Masorites. But, however this may be, so much is expressed by the passage, that the revelation of the Old Testament, in its last two shoots, would, on the one hand, be far below the glory of that of the New, and on the other hand, essentially above that of the period without revelation. We find here, at the same time, an indication of the typical relation between the first

seven prophetic weeks and the last—between the preparatory salvation after the captivity and the full Messianic salvation—an indication which, it is well known, has been further developed by the prophets after the exile. But, as we remarked before, the *sixty-two weeks* intervene as a time without revelation, and full of trouble; for sixty-two is a number altogether without relation to the significant fundamental numbers, and thus designates, and at the same time in contrast to the two divine numbers by which it is enclosed—a period insignificant, and without divine revelation. The relation of the seven weeks, the sixty-two, and the one to each other, is like that of the evening red, the night, and the clear day—a day, it is true, to be succeeded for Israel by a yet darker night. Yet even into the first night there falls a time of great affliction, the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

What a marvellous and keenly penetrating glance do these words of the angel throw into the succeeding centuries! How wonderfully do they unveil the most decisive crisis of the development of the kingdom of God, even by the mere symbolism of numbers! The history of salvation is mysteriously governed by these holy numbers. They are, so to say, the skeleton, the scaffolding, of the organic edifice. It belongs to our task, to the task of prophetic theology, to enter into their deep significance. The offence taken at the chronological intimations of our chapter, and of Daniel and the Apocalypse in general, will vanish when they are seen from this point of view. They are not merely outward indications of time, but indications of nature and essence. Not only nature, but history, is based in numbers. Scripture and antiquity put numbers as the fundamental forms of things, where we put ideas. Mathematics is also philosophy and metaphysics.¹ Doubtless, we will be

¹ *Roos*, Introduction (Einkl. in die bib. Geschichten, p. 85): "All things visible are arranged by God wisely, according to times and numbers. He has applied most wisely arithmetic and geometry in the inanimate world. If so, what must His government of *rational* creatures be? Surely pure righteousness, perfect

astonished, some future day, to discover how simple, after our complex and far-fetched systems, are the fundamental lines on which are based the relations and development of the world. The ancients, with simpler minds, saw deeper into the essences of things. But, in truth, we must believe in revelation, in the full, objective, superhuman, sense of the word, before we can understand a prophecy like that under our consideration. Numbers occur, most frequently in that form of revelation, where the supernatural, the immediately divine, is in the foreground, viz. in the Apocalypse. The most supernatural revelation leads us the furthest into the natural, and furnishes us with the clearest hints concerning the mysteries of nature and history; for the God of revelation is no other than the God of creation, the preserver and ruler of the world.

A clear light is thus thrown on the analysis of the last week into two parts. That last time of salvation for many in Israel, during which the old sacrifices and the Old Testament economy in general, is to cease, was brought about, as we know, through Jesus Christ and His apostles. By the division of the week into two halves, Daniel is reminded of the period of three and a half years already known to him (vii. 25). He knows from this source, that this is the time in which the power that opposeth itself to God arrives at its culmination, during which "the saints of the Most High are given into the hands of the enemy." But this number does not, like ten, designate the power of the world in its fulness, but a power opposed indeed to the divine (which unfolds itself in the number seven), yet broken in itself, powerless, and whose highest triumph is at the same time its defeat. For, immediately after the three and a half times, judgment falls on the victorious powers of the world (vii. 25, 26). This is the wonderful character of the last week, that, though God reveals Himself in the fulness of His covenant

order. Everything is necessarily measured out and proportioned according to its essential value and dignity, and the moral character of beings. Behold the divine Mathesis!"

mercy, yet the world is in power. The Holy One of God is in the world, not in glory, but as one given into the hands of the world-power; He is there as *Maschiach*, but not yet as *Nagid*. As long as He is on earth, He is tormented by the sin and enmity of the world, and, in the end, He is delivered into the hands of sinners, who put Him to death. But while the world thinks it has triumphed, judgment has passed on it, its power is broken (John xii. 31). The death of Jesus falls in the middle of the last week; His prophetic life, including the time of His precursor John, who ushered in the Messianic period, lasted about three years and a half. If, as is just, the work of the Baptist be taken into account,¹ we shall not make the fulfilment of prophecy depend, as Hengstenberg makes it, on uncertain chronological data. That the Old Testament sacrifices and economy were abolished by the offering up of the New Testament sacrifice on the altar of the cross, was tangibly shown by the rending asunder of the veil of the temple, for it stood in most intimate connection with the sacrifices; as the door leading into the Holy of holies—the dwelling of Jehovah—the blood of the sacrifices of atonement was sprinkled against it, and on the great day of atonement, had to be carried through it (Lev. iv. 6, 17; xvi. 2, 15).² We regard this event as a fulfilment of our prophecy, just as earlier we claimed in that sense the superscription over the cross. Sacrifices and oblations ceased in fact and essence from that day; though they were outwardly brought for a few decennia after the death of Christ. The heavenly eye which we see

¹ Thus *Bengel*, in the first edition of his "Harmonie der Evangelisten," in which he advocates a view, quite coinciding with ours; he calculates the seventy weeks (each 7 years) from the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and the last week from the beginning of John the Baptist's public life. Afterwards, influenced by his erroneous Apocalyptic Chronology, he made the prophetic week equal to 7½ years. In this case, calculation would have been impossible just in the very period for which the prophecy was particularly given.

² *Bähr*, *Symbolik des Mos. Cultus*, II., § 39; *Martensen*, *Christliche Dogmat.*, 2d edit., 366: "When the Redeemer cried on the cross, 'It is finished,' the curtain in the temple was rent in twain; because now the whole former service of sacrifices was abrogated."

throughout that the angels possess, and which sees into the heart of things and men, regarded the service of the hardened, stiff-necked, and self-righteous people, as becoming more and more an idolatrous abomination. Here we find that law of a supernatural estimate, an estimate of events according to their essence which we have met already, and shall presently meet again. That this law does not interfere with the accuracy of our earthly chronology, has already been proved.¹

We must seek the second half of the last week, and thus *the final point of the seventy weeks*, in the apostolic age, between three and four years after the death of Christ. This point appears at first sight still more vague and obscure than the *terminus a quo*. And here we observe again, the necessarily enigmatical character of prophecy, which we have already shown the dignity of revelation demands, and without which prophecy would be degraded to the level of prediction and soothsaying. As we found the beginning of the seventy weeks connected with an important event which the word of God itself points out to the careful investigator, so, in like manner, shall we find the end. A period of about from three to four years—we have no chronological data of greater accuracy—must have elapsed after the death of Christ, during which the gospel was preached exclusively to Jews, and during which the congregation of Christians stood in favour with all the people (Acts ii. 47; v. 13, 14). But then persecutions broke out on the side of Israel against the apostolic church; Stephen fell as the first martyr (Acts vii.). The respite given to the people after the three years' active ministry of Christ, was now at an end (Luke xiii. 6-9), and the Jews made the measure of their sins, which they had already filled by the murder of the Messiah, flowing and running over (Matt. xxiii. 32-38). The last and highest revelations of mercy were to be vouchsafed to Israel before judgment could overwhelm them; not merely the Son of God, but the Holy Spirit was to visit them

¹ Against Wieseler, p. 84.

(comp. Matt. xxi. 33-41, with xxiii. 34). But when the people rejected Him also, it was inwardly dead; from that day, as it was with our first parents from the day of the fall, it was already an accursed fig tree, a branch cast away and waiting only for the fire of judgment, a carcase round which the eagles must of necessity soon gather (Mark xi. 12, etc.; John xv. 6; Matt. xxiv. 28). Thus the Acts of the Apostles, and it is worthy of all notice, turns away from the Jews after the chapter which records the death of Stephen (viii.), and describes how the gospel passed over gradually to the Gentiles. This remarkable book is thus, by its entire historic view, which Michael Baumgarten has so beautifully developed in its holy and deep symmetry, an eloquent witness for the fulfilment of our prophecy, and serves the same purpose in regard to the *terminus ad quem*, as Ezra and Nehemiah serve for the *terminus a quo*. The angel mentions also the execution of the decree of the divine judgment in Israel by the Roman world-power under Titus, but this does not strictly belong to the seventy weeks, and is also not narrated in the New Testament. The absence of this narrative in both places is to be explained by the same reason. Israel, after having rejected salvation, ceased to be the subject of sacred history, and became that of profane history alone.

The ninth chapter—such is our result—reaches, with its prophecy of both salvation and judgment, till the close of the first Messianic period, till the rejection of Christ by Israel and the consequent rejection of Israel by Christ, “till the temporary interruption of the history which began in Abraham, by that judgment on the people of the covenant which Titus was called to execute.”¹ From this time the kingdom of God is taken from Israel and given to the Gentiles (Matt. xxi. 43), until the second coming of the Messiah, when the covenant people will be converted, and take its place at the head of humanity (Matt. xxiii. 39; Acts i. 6, 7; vii. 3, 19-21; Rom. xi. 25-31, 15). This

¹ Kurtz. Gesch. des Alten Bundes, i., 2 Aufl., S. 95.

second coming of the Messiah in glory, and the restoration of the kingdom of Israel connected with it, Daniel beheld in the seventh chapter. The intervening period between the two Messianic epochs, or between the destruction of Jerusalem and the conversion of all Israel, which forms for the people of the covenant a great parenthesis, filled up by the fourth monarchy, is veiled from Daniel in considerable obscurity, on account of his Old Testament and Israelitish standpoint. And it is this very parenthesis which we shall see filled up by the Apocalypse of St John.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE MODERN INTERPRETATIONS.

If our investigation has thus established the correct view of the seventy weeks, which is no other than that ancient one which has prevailed in the Church, modern criticism has received a death-blow on the purely exegetical field. The chief support which that criticism derives for its hypothesis concerning our book, the hypothesis, namely, that it extends no further than to Antiochus Epiphanes, is undermined. Whether this accurate chronological prophecy was given two hundred or six hundred years before its fulfilment, whether under Antiochus or under Darius, its miraculous character is not affected. Of course, however, no one who arrived at the true interpretation of the book, doubted its genuineness; for such an one is altogether free from the rationalistic terror of special prophecies.

In this respect the ninth chapter, rightly interpreted, is of great importance in relation to the eleventh, which abounds in disclosures distinguished by minute historical detail, and which on that account, has frequently presented difficulties even to orthodox theologians. We have already seen, from different points of our investigation, how closely these two revelations are

related in their form. Both, it seems, were received by Daniel in a waking state, and after long prayer and fasting. Both were given to him by the mouth of an angel, simply and without symbols; and in this way the most special disclosures are not only *possible*, but, when we consider the hints throughout the book, concerning the important influence exercised by angels on the affairs of the world, and of which we have already spoken,¹ it seems *natural* that they should be given through this agency. Both revelations are the last of the entire book, and we know that there is a progress in individual prophecies towards increasing minuteness. If in this respect we compare the eleventh chapter with the ninth, the question at once occurs: Is the chronological detail in the latter more easily comprehended, and less wonderful, than the historical detail in the former? The quantity, larger or smaller, of the communications, cannot, of course, decide the question. The right view of the ninth chapter will enable the consistent thinker to free himself from all the difficulties which the eleventh chapter may have caused him.

This, however, renders it only the more imperative on us to examine carefully the arguments of our opponents, and to see whether they can defend their calculations from our text (which is certainly full of difficulties), or whether they give more satisfactory solutions of the problems than our own. And this task becomes the more important, when we consider that in the rank of our opponents there is a scholar who strenuously defends the genuineness of Daniel, and with whose general views of the prophet we cordially sympathize:—J. Chr. K. Hofmann in Erlangen. After the publication of Hengstenberg's *Christology* in the year 1832, in which he treated at length the prophecy of

¹ How much Daniel viewed events as connected with the *world of angels*, appears also from the circumstance that he often puts the third person plural, to which you must supply, as subject, "the angels," as is done by Abenesra; in our German translation we render it impersonally ("man"), comp. 2, 30, 4, 13, 28, and *Hitzig* on the last passage. In like manner, the Lord Jesus says, *το ψυχόν σου ἀναστήσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ*, translated by Luther, "thy soul will be required of thee." Comp. also Job vi. 19; vii. 3; and Rev. xii. 6.

the seventy weeks, and confirmed anew the Church's interpretation of them, there appeared, besides other less important essays (comp. Hitzig, p. 153), two monographs on the same subject in 1836 and 1839, both of which we have had repeated occasion to quote, the first by Hofmann,¹ and the second by Wieseler.² These two theologians oppose Hengstenberg, and agree in many essential points with each other. Both have taken up the subject again. Hofmann confirming his former views in his "Weissagung and Erfüllung," Wieseler modifying his former views in his critique of the well-known work of the Duke of Manchester, "Times of Daniel" (Gött. gel. Anz. 1846, S. 113, ff). It is, therefore, only this last exposition of Wieseler's views that we shall have to consider. To these must be joined Hitzig in his "Commentary." Ewald in the second volume of his "Propheten des Alten Bundes," as well as Hengstenberg in his Christology, have expounded in detail only the present passage out of the whole book of Daniel (pp. 569-572). We see that the brief paragraph of four verses which is the subject of our investigation, has attracted an unusual share of attention; for the whole question on Daniel is intimately connected with it. We may pass over the earlier opponents of our interpretation, as they have been already considered by Hengstenberg, and after him by Hävernick.—comp. Hitzig, p. 173; Wieseler, die 70 Wochen, etc. p. 69, etc.

I. THE VIEWS OF EWALD, HOFMANN, WIESELER, AND HITZIG.

These four commentators agree in this, that like *Bertholdt*, *Eichhorn*, *von Lengerke*, and others, they take the last week to mean the time of distress, which Israel experienced in the days

¹ Die 70 Jahre des Jer. und die 70 Jahrwochen des Dan. zwei exeget-histor. Untersuchungen, Nürnberg, 1836.

² Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel, etc. Göttingen, 1839. It is remarkable that Wieseler has made no remark on the work of Hofmann, published three years before his own.

of Antiochus Epiphanes. But their views of the seven, and of the sixty-two weeks, are very different. *Ewald* stands here quite isolated from the rest, in that he acknowledges what should never have been denied, that the seventy weeks form a continuous whole, and that their component parts must succeed each other in the same order as is mentioned in the text, first the seven, then the sixty-two, and lastly the one week. The *terminus a quo* described in ver. 25, is, according to *Ewald*, the fourth year of Jehoiakim, or the year 607 B.C.; an opinion which he founds on Jeremiah xxv. 1, for this prophecy he conceives to be the "going forth of the command." From 607 he calculates the first seven weeks down to Cyrus (536), who, according to him, is the *Maschiach Nagid*; the sixty-two weeks he reckons from Cyrus down to the year 176, which is marked by the violent death of the predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes, Seleucus iv. Philopator, who, according to *Ewald* is the *Maschiach*; finally, the last revolt is the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is consequently the *Nagid* from 176–166. *Ewald* himself confesses, that this exposition makes neither the seventy weeks as a whole, nor the individual parts, agree with history. For, instead of 490 years, he obtains 441; instead of 49, 71; instead of 334, 360, and instead of 7, 10. This of itself is a complete answer to the exposition, and it is scarcely necessary to point out that the year in which Jeremiah xxv. was spoken, cannot possibly be taken as the *terminus a quo*, for the subject of that divine message is not the restoration, but on the contrary, the destruction of Jerusalem; thus forming the foundation and substratum of our passage, as is admitted by *Hitzig* (158, 174). We therefore agree with *Ewald* only in so far as he justly opposes the other interpreters, asserting what the text clearly demands, that the seven weeks are to be taken as immediately preceding the sixty-two.

For *Hofmann*, *Wieseler*, and *Hitzig*, all agree in separating the first seven weeks from the rest, and in dating, though for different reasons, the commencement of the sixty-two weeks, or 434 years from about the same period, namely 606 or 605 B.C., which is

Ewald's *terminus a quo* for the whole calculation, thus bringing the end of the sixty-two years to 171 or 170, when the sufferings of Israel, through Antiochus the *Nagid*, which form the contents of the last week, begin. By the Anointed, who is killed after the sixty-two weeks, they understand the high priest Onias III., in whose assassination Wieseler and Hitzig, and in whose deposition Hofmann see the fulfilment of the יכרת. The last week extends to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in the year 164; in the middle of that week the service of God ("sacrifice and oblation") was abrogated by this king, and the service of idols was introduced. Thus these three commentators apply the sixty-two weeks and the one week to a period which, according to Ewald, embraces the whole seventy. By this the former avoid the chronological difficulties, which render Ewald's view inadmissible, and obtain an exact chronological coincidence of fulfilment.

These commentators are essentially agreed in their exposition of the sixty-three weeks, but in that of the seven weeks they differ very widely. Hitzig, agreeing chiefly with Eichhorn, understands by the going forth of the command (ver. 25) the oracle Jer. xxx. and xxxi., which, he argues from xxxi. 15, was given in the year of the destruction of Jerusalem; and he understands the *Maschiach Nagid* to refer to Cyrus. He thus commences the seven weeks with 588, and brings them to 539, when, he says, Cyrus first came within the horizon of Jewish history. Thus the seven weeks, according to him, fall within the sixty-two, and form part of them. Wieseler and Hofmann admit, that the *Maschiach Nagid* refers to the Messiah. Wieseler wishes to annex the seven weeks to the end of the sixty-three, and begins from the year 164 B.C., which leads to this conclusion, that the Messiah "ought to have come 115 years before Christ. But the words were scarcely meant to be so rigorously applied. The meaning is rather general; in a time not very distant—in about seven times seven years—in a spiritual year of jubilee—the Messiah will appear." Hofmann finally refers the

whole, not to the first advent of Christ, which is past, but to His future, His second advent;—the going forth of the Word, the *terminus a quo* for the calculation of the seven weeks is, according to him, a divine call of God to Israel—a call, as yet, in the dark future, to rebuild Jerusalem, and the end of the seven weeks is the completion of the New Jerusalem, under its princely King.

We admit, that the exposition which these three commentators give of the sixty-two weeks and the one week, is, at first sight, pleasing and plausible. This is the reason also why commentators, who on other points differ so widely as the three mentioned, yet agree in this. But although the striking coincidence and agreement of years inclines us for a moment to look favourably on this view, we have only to consider the calculation of the seven weeks, to see at once that we have here one of those cases of frequent occurrence in apocalyptic exegesis, in which men of undoubted acuteness are blinded and led astray by striking, yet purely accidental coincidences. For, it would be hard to say which is the most unfavourable aspect of these interpretations;—if compared with each other, the immense difference in the calculations of the seven weeks produces an effect almost comical; while, viewing them singly, their arbitrariness in explaining this period prefixed by the angel is palpably manifest, as well as the forced and unnatural manner in which they look for some plan and means to interpret the inconvenient seven weeks.

These views of the forty-nine years were thus proved to be mere makeshifts of necessity; and this is decisive from the outset against such a mode of interpreting our prophecy. For, not to take into account the special contents of the angelic message, so much is clear, that in all these expositions there is only room for sixty-three weeks, and consequently the nerve and emphasis of the number seventy is lost. These commentators, therefore, looked for every possible method to account for the seven weeks. Whilst, in the text, the seven belong simply to

the sixty-three, and precede them, they either put them within, or at the end of the sixty-three, or separate them entirely, and make them take place centuries after. The only variety which is left, would be for some ingenious man to discover, that they are to be found some thousand years before the sixty-three. From the stand-point of our opponents, Ewald's view is evidently the only textual one; and no one would ever think of separating the seven weeks at the beginning, were it not that Ewald's view is too palpably refuted by every number without exception mentioned in the text. But we proceed to an examination of the details.

II. CRITICISM OF THESE VIEWS.

I. THE CHRONOLOGICAL CALCULATION.

We begin with the point to which our attention has been last directed, the calculation of the seventy, or rather the sixty-two, relatively sixty-three prophetic weeks. We have a two-fold objection against this calculation, plausible as it is, and shall add a third to the general view taken by our opponents of the seventy weeks.

I. With regard to the *terminus a quo* of the calculation, the commentators, though from very different motives, agree in the year 606—605 B.C. This diversity in the mode of proof, is of itself not calculated to promote our confidence in the result, but rather to give rise to the suspicion, that the year was fixed upon because it suited the calculation, and that the reasons were looked for afterwards, one commentator lighting upon one reason, another upon a different one. But none of the reasons can bear criticism.

Hofmann thinks (Weiss. u. Erf. i., S. 296), that the whole prophecy presupposes in the reader certainty concerning the

terminus a quo; and that this point, according to ix. 2, cannot be found in any other year than that in which Jerusalem was made a "desolation." Thus the destruction of Jerusalem would be the commencement of the sixty-two weeks; but that event according to Hofmann's peculiar mode of calculation, falls in the year 605 B.C. We will not urge here, that Hofmann makes the whole matter depend on the uncertain result of his peculiar chronology, in which he has followed the precedent set by Hengstenberg, but will only remind the reader, that Hofmann's view, that the destruction of Jerusalem took place as early as 606 B.C., and not, as is usually supposed, 588, has, as far as we know, found even fewer adherents than Hengstenberg's conjecture about the date of the accession of Artaxerxes. And even if Hofmann's chronology were correct, his view regarding the commencement of the sixty-two weeks would not be tenable. Hofmann thus explains ver. 25: From the issuing of the Divine command to build Jerusalem (which is, even for us Christians, a future event), till (the second coming of) the Messiah, are seven weeks; and (from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar) the city will be rebuilt in sixty-two weeks. But after Daniel has prayed for the restoration of the city, who would be inclined to think that the answer vouchsafed to his supplication should refer, by the words, "the going forth of the command to restore and to build Jerusalem," to anything else than a Divine command concerning the rebuilding of the city, in the immediate future? It was impossible for Daniel to understand by it a second, much later command of God; and further, in the words, "from the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem," we have a *terminus a quo* most distinctly given, and who could therefore imagine, that he ought to supply a new point of commencement, totally opposed to one so clearly indicated, and a commencement of which no trace can be found, either in the words themselves or in the context? And who can imagine, that the first mentioned *terminus a quo* is to be supposed later than the second, which is not mentioned in

the text, but in Hofmann's exposition? And who can imagine that the words, "to restore and to build," which occur twice, without any difference, in the same verse, describe two different buildings, separated in time by at least two thousand five hundred years? Hofmann's exegesis is certainly nowhere more violent and bold, than in this passage.

Wieseler (p. 124-126) arrives at the same result, 606 B.C., by an exposition totally different. He acknowledges that "the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem," is the point at which the calculation commences; but, like Ewald, he understands by this command the oracle Jer. xxv., which, according to ver. 1, falls within that year. We have seen why this supposition of Ewald is untenable, and as such it has been recognised also by Hitzig. But the further treatment of the text of the twenty-fifth verse by Wieseler, in order to remove the seven weeks from the commencement, and to put them to the end of the sixty-three, is not less erroneous and impossible. He tries to show that the words מן-מצא—ירושלם are closely connected with the preceding words ותרע ותשכל, and would make a longer pause after ירושלם. The prophet's object is "to emphasize the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, by the addition of ותרע ותשכל, which is absolutely necessary for the correct understanding of the passage." But even if we grant this, where does Wieseler obtain the right to throw the following words out of the text, and add them as a conclusion to ver. 27, משיח ער, שבעה שבועים נניד; at the same time, quietly taking the מן-מצא ונו from the משיח ונו and inserting it before the ושבועים ששים ושנים. Hitzig justly remarks against this bold operation: "The right of transposing the seven weeks from the beginning to the end, has not been demonstrated (Hitzig, p. 174)." Now, with regard to Hitzig himself, he does not even take the trouble to show why the sixty-two weeks are to be calculated from the year 606. He makes the "pseudo prophet" count backwards, and calculate in arbitrary confusion, just as a modern commentator does when he is hard pressed (see espe-

cially p. 169). We must protest in general, in the name of evangelical theology, against the undignified manner in which Hitzig treats the Old Testament, especially this book of Daniel.¹ We can only turn with righteous indignation from a criticism so devoid of all reverential feeling for the holy text, that, for example, it can apply the expression, "the *πρῶτον ψεύδος* of the calculation" (applicable enough to itself), to the words of the prophet, or rather of the angel. This exposition has laid bare its own falsehood, by speaking of the existence of a *ψεύδος*, and that too in these very seven weeks. Hitzig's words, p. 170: "The *πρῶτον ψεύδος* in the calculation, is the seven weeks for which the author had to find some place," only confirms the remarks we made above in relation to this.

II. We have considered the difficulties which attach to these interpretations separately; we shall turn now to one, which they have in common. In ver. 25, the text says, according to Hitzig's own translation, that "Jerusalem will be restored and rebuilt during sixty-two weeks," or, according to Ewald, "for sixty-two weeks."

Supposing now the sixty-two weeks commence with the year 606, then *the whole time of the exile*; during which, it is to be observed, Jerusalem lay desolate, as our chapter most emphatically points out, would be included, *without distinction, in the time of the building of the city*, which is absurd. Hofmann feels the force of this objection, but his attempted refutation (die 70, Jahre, S. p. 106; Weiss. u. Erfüll, S. 302), will scarcely convince any one, especially when he remembers the fundamental views from which our chapter starts.

¹ Specimens, p. 168: "Die Ausleger sind hier selbst mit allerlei שָׁבָעִים in die Wochen gekommen," p. 17 speaking of Daniel (chap. ii), "The combination of four metals shows little taste, and, besides, the treatment of the whole contains many things offensive, and altogether cannot be called successful," etc. What the critic says about the book Daniel would, in most cases, be true of the book Hitzig.

III. We have hitherto confined ourselves to the consideration of the *terminus a quo*, and the view of the sixty-two weeks derived from it. We must now glance at the *general view of the seventy prophetic weeks* taken by these commentators. For, after all, this is the touch-stone of the whole. The chief objection to Hofmann's view is, that according to him there is an indefinite gulf between the sixty-three and the seven weeks, which takes the main stay from the whole calculation and the whole prophecy, and renders the words prefixed as fundamental to the whole prediction of the seventy weeks, utterly illusory. The exposition is just as if one should say; the old Roman empire, which existed from 752 B.C. till 476 A.D., lasted between 700 and 800 years; 240 years from the beginning till the expulsion of the kings; and then again, about 500 years from the commencement of the empire to its end; the intervening period of the republic is not to be taken into consideration. This is somewhat like Hofmann's distribution of the sixty-three and the seven weeks, with this difference, that his violent separation is still more forced. The period between 164 B.C. and a future, which is even for us distant and indefinite, is simply cut by him out of the calculation. In vain we ask by what right? An intervening period might perhaps be passed over, if the point where the first period ends, or is broken off, were one of decisive importance for the development of Israel, as, for example, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. There, it might be said, commence the *καταβολὴ ἐθνῶν*; a grand parenthesis as regards the history of Israel, which will be concluded in the future by the restoration and conversion of Israel. (This view is taken to some extent in the lectures on Daniel already quoted (p. 106), the Calwer Bibelklärung, and other works, which refer the last week to the times of antichrist). But it is impossible to see a reason why the prophecy concerning "the people and the holy city" should be interrupted by the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, especially, as, owing to the prophecies contained in Daniel (chaps. viii. and xi.), the danger which then threatened Israel

passed over without inflicting essential injury, and the nation maintained its existence as it had previously done, for more than 200 years. If Antiochus Epiphanes had, for instance, destroyed Jerusalem, we might be able to conceive how the prophecy might have passed on from this event, to a new command of God to rebuild Jerusalem. But, as it stands, it is clear why the prophecies of the eighth and eleventh chapters conclude with the death of Antiochus; it is *not* comprehensible that a revelation, which, according to Hofmann's own admission, concerns also the more remote history of Israel, should break off at this very point. The prophecy would, in that case, pass over in utter silence events of far greater moment, such as the first coming of the Messiah, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and this is yet more improbable than the sufficiently great improbability, that the sixty-two weeks devoted to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, should include likewise the period of its desolations. What views of history the angel must have had, if Hofman's interpretation be true!

Compared with this exposition, *Wieseler's* view has the advantage, that he regards the seventy weeks as a continuous whole. But we have already pointed out that the transposition of the seven weeks from the beginning to the conclusion, cannot be reconciled with the words of the text. And we may add, at this point, that Wieseler himself, in his first treatise, rejects the view he afterwards adopted (and which had been previously advanced by Corrodi in his *Critical History of Chiliasm*, i. p. 247), in the following short and striking words: "The arbitrariness and untextual method of such a transposition is palpably manifest." This is quite true, and, moreover, this view of Wieseler-Corrodi, is refuted by the extraordinary want of congruity between the prophecy thus understood, and its historic fulfilment. What is the meaning of the assertion that Christ ought to have come 115 years B.C.? Does Wieseler, who is a master of biblical chronology, seriously believe that the Bible is so deficient and inaccurate in chronology? And must he not

since have given up a view, according to which prophecy resembles a ball, to which a feeble hand gives an impetus so weak, that, unable to overcome some accidental obstruction, it is stopped before it reaches its destined goal!

Turning lastly to Hitzig, the forced and far-fetched way in which he tries to show historically when "the going forth of the commandment" took place, strikes every reader. He felt correctly, that Jer. xxv. was not intended by Daniel, and, therefore, he looked for some passage in that part of Jeremiah, in which the rebuilding of Jerusalem is spoken of. The thirtieth and thirty-first chapters occurred to his mind. But, unfortunately, this revelation is without a chronological date, and, therefore, does not seem very well suited to be a chronological *terminus a quo*. But, in this distress, some expedient will offer. In the fifteenth verse of the thirty-first chapter, which speaks of Rachel lamenting over her fallen sons, Hitzig finds a hint that these chapters were written in the year of the destruction of Jerusalem. Now, it is difficult to say which part of this procedure is more arbitrary, the fixing on this particular prophecy for a purpose which ten others, with the like contents, might serve as well—the deduction of the chronological date from chap. xxxi. 15, or the supposition that the historical hint, which is, at all events, but obscurely implied in the verse, was intended for the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks. And, as regards the exegesis as a whole, it is so palpably irreconcilable with the text, to insert the seven weeks among the sixty-two, that a further refutation is unnecessary. If this exposition be right, what reason or excuse is there for speaking of seventy weeks? It is a blunder against the first rules of addition, and is just as if a man were to say, the word Daniel consists of eight letters, *D a n i e* make up five, *l* makes six, but then you must count *a* and *n* a second time, which makes in all eight, Q.E.D. It is manifest that this view altogether destroys the meaning of ver. 24, one of the deepest and sublimest Messianic passages of the Old Testament. According to Hitzig, the promises of this verse may be reduced

to the "great event, contemporary with the author, the consecration of a new altar for burnt sacrifices" (1 Maccabees iv. 54, 56, 59). (Hitzig, p. 157.) After this survey, we think we may confidently remind the reader of our exposition as given above, and simply leave it to his judgment to say on which side there is greater simplicity and ease of calculation, closer adherence to the text, and less chronological difficulty. The views of our opponents are certainly incapable of interpreting the cardinal point of the whole prophecy, the centre round which everything else revolves, the seventy prophetic weeks themselves, which must form as continuous a whole as those of Jeremiah. Their calculation is, therefore, radically false.

II. EXPOSITION OF THE DETAILS.

We have considered the outer chronological frame; we turn now to the picture itself, which the prophecy unfolds before us, as our opponents represent it, and which differs widely from that which we ourselves have seen. We must first, however, consider some details, and leave the impression of the whole to form the subject of the following paragraph. We can state our views with brevity, as we had occasion to speak of chronological calculation in connection with ver. 24 and 25, and single out only the most important points in ver. 26 and 27.

I. The expression *Maschiach*, is decisive. Formerly Hitzig and others, and Ewald even now, referred it to one of the Seleucidæ, the precursor of Antiochus Epiphanes, but they had to relinquish this view, because, as we have seen above, his death took place several years too soon to suit the calculation. Here again, the change of opinion betrays the unsatisfactory character of the view. At present *Hitzig*, *Hofmann*, and *Wieseler*, are unanimous in referring the *Maschiach* to the high priest Onias, and yet, even here, they do not agree in reality. One could

possibly refer the word to Onias, if one could understand the *יכרת* to mean, as Hofmann interprets it, a degradation or deposition of the high priest; from which event it is true, according to 2 Macc. iv. 7, etc., the pernicious influence of Antiochus upon Jewish affairs, dated its commencement (Weiss. u. Erfüll. i. S. 295). , But nobody will agree with Hofmann, that *יכרת* can be applied to anything except violent death; at least the formula *לא יכרת* which he adduces, proves nothing in our case. And for this reason Wieseler and Hitzig retain justly the translation generally adopted: "an Anointed one shall be killed." But the murder of Onias, years after his deposition, is in itself a fact devoid of importance, and the less suited to be prominently mentioned in this prophecy, as Antiochus showed himself on this occasion in a more favourable light than usual (2 Macc. iv. 33-38). The expression *ואין לי*, also, loses its real meaning if this view is adopted, nor can we see what connection subsists between the great distress spoken of in the second clause of the verse, and the murder of a high priest who has been deposed from his office. If we bear in mind the deep and mighty meaning which these verses possess, according to the Messianic interpretation, and the connection of ideas so pregnant and suggestive, which binds together the individual parts of the prophecy, the modern exposition will then appear to place the central point in such an artificial and uncertain light, and, at the same time, degrade it to such trivial, puny dimensions, that it is not difficult to decide in the choice between the two expositions.

II. The second clause of ver. 26, contains several things utterly irreconcilable with the view, that the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes alone are here set forth. Thus, for instance, it would be difficult to show that *השדודות*, where it has for its object city and sanctuary—it is different in viii. 24—does not mean destruction, but merely confusion, as Hofmann translates it. The word occurs *e.g.*, Gen. xix. 14, descriptive of the fate of Sodom. But, in our passage, its meaning is unambiguous, owing

to its opposition to the rebuilding. We shall consider the expressions נביד קצו and below.

III. In ver. 27, the words ברית הנוביר offer insurmountable difficulties to the modern interpretation. The explanation given by *Hofmann, Ewald, and Wieseler*, that Antiochus was to make a firm covenant with many Jews, has been refuted in a masterly manner by Hitzig, p. 164, and he admits that ברית can only refer to a covenant of God with the people. But he substitutes an exposition equally untenable, by inventing, to meet his preconceived opinion, the indefensible meaning of "making heavy" הנוביר : "the covenant of God weighed heavily upon him, from the time that he and the people were attacked because of it." It would have been easier to make הנוביר mean *violare*. Here we can leave the views of our opponents to judge and correct each other. As Hitzig is right in refuting the three others concerning ברית, they justly refute his view of הנוביר. It is impossible to translate the words, except as follows: "one week confirms the covenant with many;" ascribing, as is often done, to the time, the event which happens in it; and this is done in our passage with a special purpose. We have seen above, that שבוע, as a time, containing the number seven, is a time of Divine revelation. The subject has thus in it an indication of what is more fully described in its effects by the verb and its object. The time of God, and the confirmation of the covenant, are necessarily connected.

IV. And this leads us to another point, in which all the views of our opponents prove themselves defective; that they are not able to explain in any way the *symbolical importance attached to the numbers*—an importance so clearly and expressly pointed out by the angel. And this defect appears in the strongest light in the last week, when, according to the exposition given by them in common, the signification of the sacred number is turned into its very opposite. For the number seven, which is well known

to be symbolic of the Divine, becomes, according to their view, the symbol of what is opposed to God. We are astonished that Hofmann especially, who in other places has a deep insight into the meaning of biblical numbers, could have so completely overlooked and passed over this point.

We are thus confirmed by our consideration of ver. 26 and 27, in the remarks we made at ver. 25. Modern exposition agrees as little with the words and individual features of the text, as it corresponds to the chronological frame of the whole. In the sequel we shall have occasion to consider, in this respect, ver. 27 also. But the words in ver. 26, יכרת משירו, are ever of central importance. Here also the stone of offence is the cross of Christ.

III. THE CHARACTER OF THE WHOLE CHAPTER.

a. The fundamental and distinctive characteristics of the prophecies referring to Antiochus Epiphanes.

We turn now to the consideration of the relation in which the four verses of prophecy stand to the whole chapter in which they occur, and then to the relation in which the ninth chapter stands to the book of Daniel; and shall likewise see here what insurmountable difficulties the modern exposition has to encounter. It can neither be reconciled with the context of our passage, nor with the general mode in which Daniel speaks of Antiochus.

The whole circle of ideas in which the ninth chapter places us, is entirely different from that which relates to Antiochus—the starting-point, the leading ideas in our chapter, cannot be brought into harmony with a prediction concerning Antiochus. Daniel's prayer refers to the return from exile, the rebuilding of the city, and in connection with this, the salvation of the people, and the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies. What

has all this to do with Antiochus Epiphanes, who exercised no important decisive influence, especially concerning the city of Jerusalem, whose future, next to the number seventy, forms the very centre and burden of the prophecy (comp. particularly *דעציר* ver. 26). The sixty-two weeks, *i.e.*, the years 605-171 B.C., are said to stand for the time of the rebuilding of Jerusalem; but as little as this event can begin in the year 605, *i.e.*, before the destruction of Jerusalem, so little can one imagine a reason why it should end with 171, or why the time of destruction should commence here. Thus the modern interpretation is incapable of explaining the very central points, round which, according to ver. 2, the whole prophecy turns, the number seventy, and the rebuilding and second destruction of Jerusalem. But let the reader, free from prejudice, read the first nineteen verses of the chapter, and endeavour to realise the situation there described, and he will find, that a mention of Antiochus would be entirely out of place, nay, would disturb and offend our feelings and our train of thought; whereas the course of ideas traced by us is not only natural and easy, but stands in necessary connection with the whole.

We can easily conceive how those commentators, who are forced by their preconceived opinions to refer everything in our book to Antiochus Epiphanes, feel this necessity also in our chapter. But we cannot comprehend the reasons which force Hofmann to adopt this view. This is one of the cases (which indeed are not very rare) where his praiseworthy striving for a historical view keeps him in fetters to a lower stand-point, resembling the rationalistic mode of conception, which in other places he has overcome and refuted in a manner so profound, masterly, and happy. His correct view of the relation subsisting between the first and second parts of our book, should of itself have led him to the conviction, that as the first prophecy concerns the development of the kingdom of God, as well as of the God-opposed power of the world, even into times the most remote, so the second part would contain not merely the

development of the world-power, but also that of the kingdom of God, would reveal the more immediate future of salvation. And this view is hinted by Hofmann himself (die 70 Jahr., p. 108), when he expresses the opinion, that the *a priori* expectation of finding somewhere in this universal book, mention made of the first appearance of the Messiah on earth, was justified and legitimate.

But it is not only out of harmony with the starting-point and purpose of our chapter, to refer it to Antiochus. It must be further observed, that the character of the passages which undoubtedly treat of Antiochus (chap. viii. and xi.), are altogether different from the way and manner in which our chapter (according to our opponents) speaks of him. In the other passages he appears throughout in connection with the development of the world-power, as the head of the third monarchy. Here, however, we stand upon theocratic, Israelitish ground; and Antiochus would form an isolated phenomenon, introduced merely *AB EXTRA*. What difference is there between the indefinite designation of *Nagid*, which suggests at once the expression, נָצִיר, xi. 18, designating also the chief commander of a state or a general of the Romans, and the minute and terrible description (chap. viii. and xi.) of Antiochus, as type of Antichrist. When Gabriel appears unto Daniel, the prophet shows distinctly (ix. 21), that the angel was known to him from the previous vision (viii. 16). And should Antiochus, who formed the chief subject of the previous vision, be introduced as a person altogether unknown, not even an article intimating, that he has occurred previously? And how can one escape seeing, that the chapter stands out isolated and unique, while the chapters ii. vii. viii. x.-xii. are of a homogeneous character, through which they are related to each other by an unmistakable connection? Whereas the latter visions are beheld from the standpoint of the worldly power, our prophecy proceeds altogether from that of the covenant people. The thought is naturally and involuntarily suggested to our mind, that accordingly the subject

of our prophecy will be peculiar and different from that of the other chapters. This single point of itself raises a very strong presumption against those commentators who refer everything in Daniel, without distinction, and by any tortuous method, to Antiochus Epiphanes.

Bearing this in mind, we will see that an objection brought forward, and with great emphasis, against our view of Dan. ix., by Wieseler (70 Wochen, p. 83), loses its force, and is rather a confirmation of our exposition. He says, that "a Messianic interpretation of our passage is rendered impossible by the general consideration, that, according to it, Daniel, when he spoke of the sixty-two weeks, would have passed over in silence the oppression of the Jews by Epiphanes, which it was a chief object of our book to predict." This is rather the chief excellence of the Messianic exposition, that it is not forced to refer this unique chapter by violent interpretations to Antiochus. But it will seem natural, that in this prophecy Antiochus is not spoken of in conjunction with the Messiah, that his time, though falling within the sixty-two weeks, is passed over in silence, if we bear in mind the occasion, and the purport of the whole revelation, as we have developed it in the first chapter. The very object and significance of the ninth chapter is to present Christ as opposed to the antichrist of the more immediate future, who was sufficiently characterised in chapters viii. and x.—xii.—The other objections brought forward by Wieseler, Hofmann, and Hitzig, against the Messianic view, have found their refutation, we trust, though they are not mentioned expressly in the first chapter of this part. There remains only one other point to which, however, our opponents attach most importance, and which we shall consider in the following paragraph :—

b. The resemblance to the prophecies that refer to Antiochus.

Our opponents think that the relation in which the ninth chapter stands to the eighth and eleventh is the strongest proof

that the former refers to Antiochus. Our opponents present to us full and long enumerations of expressions, turns of thought, and data, which are, or are affirmed to be, common to these visions. Thus, for example, Hofmann, *die 70 Jahre*, etc., p. 97. We do not at all intend to deny this coincidence, we even regard it as intentional, and as standing in intimate connection with the whole aim of our book. Only let us carefully distinguish between real and mere apparent agreement, or a coincidence resulting from erroneous exegesis. To this latter category we refer, for instance, such a resemblance as is found between *וקצו בשטף* ver. 26 and *באפס יד ישבר* viii. 25, both containing, as is said, a description of the death of Antiochus; at all events the similarity of the thought is but very general; the prefix in *וקצו* could be referred grammatically to *נניד*, but logically the connection scarcely permits such a reference; for when it is said: the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and then *וקצו* immediately follows; every one will think of the end of the thing destroyed, and not of the destroyer, and so much the more, as in the sequel a continuation of the description of desolations is given. As little is it legitimate to compare the *והעיר והקדש יהיה עם נניד הבא* ver. 26 with the *והשחית עצומים ועם-קדשים* viii. 24; for a closer investigation of the passage renders it perfectly clear, that not only the objects, but also the signification of the verbs are different; religious corruption and seduction of the people is something else than the destruction of the city and sanctuary. But least of all, should a parallel be instituted in the chronological intimations. There are three data given in our book in reference to the period of Antiochus, the 2300 days, viii. 14; secondly, the 1290 days; and thirdly, the 1335, xii. 11, 12; for the three times and a half, vii. 25, refer to the time of antichrist, as also those mentioned in xii. 7, which point back purposely to the former; and this is evident from the exposition which vii. 25 gives of the words *נפץ יד-עם-קדש* saying: "the saints shall be given into the hands of antichrist, and he shall

wear out the saints of the Most High." The more manifest it is that the chronological intimations given concerning Antiochus, are accurate even to a day, the less are we entitled to bulk things, and to say, that the 1290, or also the 1335 days, correspond generally (and roughly) to the half week (ix. 27), and the 2300 days to the whole. The angel's calculation shows that the one statement is as erroneous as the other; the last number especially is wrong, by hundreds of days. And should this be a matter of indifference to a prophet, who lays such prominent stress on the difference of forty-five days? But if the 2300 days are reduced to 1150, as Hitzig and others do, as Bengel has done (in his *ordo temporum*, 372, etc.), then there is not only an analogy for the "one week," in the chronological statements concerning Antiochus, but also instead of half a week, we have a third, and still less coincident number of days.

We cannot thus see any parallelism between the ninth chapter and the eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, but we do not deny that such an analogy exists in other respects. The most striking instance is the expressions in ver. 27, כִּנְיָ שְׁקִיצִים מְשֻׁמָּה which, on the one hand, refers us back to viii. 13, and on the other and more distinctly, to xi. 31, where the expression מְשֻׁמָּה דְּשְׁקִיץ is an allusion to it, and to xii. 11, and its essentially identical expression of שְׁמָה שְׁקִיץ. But this, as we shall soon see, is not the only point in which these three visions meet. How are we to account for this startling fact, considering the unique character of the ninth chapter? By a simple consideration of the object of our book, and especially of the second part. In the seventh chapter, the coming of the Messianic kingdom is foretold to comfort the church of God, in the prospect of, and during the times of distress that shall precede that advent; and, in like manner, the Messianic salvation in the more immediate future, and connected with it the judgment on those who violated the covenant, is to be revealed to the faithful, to be a comfort and light to them in the approaching dark days of temptation. The ninth chapter has likewise a purpose in refer-

ence to the times of Antiochus. We know from our previous remarks, that this king stands in the same relation to the first advent of Christ as antichrist to His second coming, and we have, therefore, called him the Old Testament antichrist. We have likewise shown, how and why, in the first part of Daniel, the fury of the antichrist and the appearance of Christ in glory, are viewed and united in the vision; and that this simultaneous viewing of both was impossible in the second part, where the impiety of Antiochus is placed in opposition to the coming of Christ in the flesh. But, if the relation and opposition of Antiochus to the Messiah was to be clearly pointed out, it could only be effected by unmistakeable allusions and references occurring in the prophecies concerning the one, to those which predict the coming of the other, just in the same manner as we point out the relation in which the two kings stand by the terms Christ and antichrist, furnished by the New Testament. By the striking parallelism in expression and thought which subsists between the two prophecies, the consoling expectations of the time of Messiah, were intended to be suggested to the believer, who looked forward in faith to the time of antichrist (Antiochus), and since the ninth chapter could not be united in one vision with the eighth or eleventh, the suggestion of looking from one revelation to the other, was to be afforded. The parallels are thus accounted for by this antithetical relation between the two prophecies. They centre in the twenty-seventh verse, which treats of the Messianic week; direct reference to this verse is made in the description of the hostile attacks of Antiochus on the Theocracy mentioned xi. 30-35 (comp. also viii. 10-15), and it is to this relation that all the similarity between the visions of the second part may be reduced.

We can observe the antithetic relations between the name of Christ and antichrist, in the very first words of ix. 27 compared with xi. 30, 32. The import of the Messianic weeks, is the confirmation of the covenant to many, *הגביר ברית לרבים*. Here, as in the times of Antiochus, the *משיח* and *עזבי ברית*

ברית prevail; they stand in favour with the king, and are the leading persons in Israel, while the faithful and prudent,¹ the true Israelites, who are also called here הרבים (ver. 33, comp. xii. 10), have to suffer severely, partly from the persecution of enemies, partly from the unfaithfulness of false friends (ver. 33–35). But it is for these very “faithful and prudent” that the book is written, in order that the time of suffering may be blessed to them as a time of sanctification and purification (xii. 10; xi. 35). In the very midst of the abominations committed against the covenant of God, the comforting prophecy of the Messianic times, in which the covenant shall be confirmed to many, was to strengthen their faith; now the covenant of God is grievously and ignominiously trampled upon, then it will be confirmed and raised to greater stability and glory than ever.

The expression, “and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease,” which occurs in the second clause of ver. 27, and which forms the remarkable description of the Messiah’s sacrificial death, and of the end of the Old Economy, can only be properly understood when we recognise the allusion it contains to the time of Antiochus, an allusion which decidedly influences the choice of expressions. Here it is easily seen that the expressions used concerning Antiochus, הרבים הרעים viii. 11, and concerning his hosts and followers, חסירי התמים xi. 31 (while it is said of the Messianic week זבח ומנחה, ישיבת זבח ומנחה), do not designate, as is maintained by our opponents, the same thing. For the temporary abolition of the holy sacrifice is something quite different from the total abolition of sacrifices and oblations, and, consequently of sacrifices in general. חסיר is not the same as חושבית, nor is התמים the same as זבח ומנחה. But a certain resemblance between the times of Christ and antichrist was to be pointed

¹ Roos (266): “To be wise means to believe; what is to be wise but to have the mind of Christ, to have the same mind dwelling in us which was also in Christ Jesus? What is opposed to this—is un wisdom.” Comp. Hebr. 11, 26.

out here, that so a gleam of comfort might illuminate the dark afflictions of the children of God. They were to be taught to look forward to the time when the covenant of God, and with it sacrifice and worship, were trodden down, to that time when salvation would come, and the covenant be confirmed, and yet the sacrifices of the old dispensation be abolished. It was to calm and support them in that period of heavy trials that the temple service, which was then taken away from them, was not absolutely necessary, that they could be the true congregation of God, even though they did not offer sacrifices to Him, since in the time of the Messiah, which was approaching, sacrifices were to cease altogether. This is quite the same consolation, which, as we have shown above, Jeremiah and Ezekiel gave, under similar circumstances, to God's faithful people. For, when the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar was impending, and in connection with it the interruption of the service of God, these prophets were sent to prophesy of the New Covenant, which should be another covenant than that of their fathers, in which the ark would be remembered no more, and God's laws be written on their hearts (Jer. iii. 16; xxxi. 31; Ezek. xi. 19).

The most distinct allusion to *מַשְׁמַחַת עֲקוּצִים* ix. 27, is, in the words *מַשְׁמַחַת עֲקוּצִים* xi. 31, xii. 11. In the former of these last mentioned passages it is wrong to take the apostate Israelites as the subject of the sentence, as *Hengstenberg* (Christology, p. 498) does in a forced manner, by referring the *מַמְנוּ* to *בְּרִיּוֹת*, in order to be able to translate: mighty ones arise out of the people of the covenant: but the words *יָרְעִים מִמֶּנּוּ יַעֲמִדוּ* are to be taken, as almost all commentators so take them, as referring to the hosts of Antiochus. On the other hand, we cannot affirm that the apostate Israelites, are not part of the subject to be supplied to the following words *וְהוֹסִירוּ וְהִלְלוּ וְנָתַנוּ*, for the verse immediately preceding (ver. 30), concludes with a mention of the confederation which the king would form with those who had left the holy covenant (1 Macc. i. 12, etc.), and it naturally follows that the latter joined the king's followers in desecrating

the temple, in abolishing the service, and in introducing the abominations of idolatry. And thus, as partakers of these abominations, they are called in ver. 32, no longer עֲזָבֵי but מְרַשְׁעֵי בְרִית as it is emphatically said of them, that they are now turned complete heathens (יִדְּוִנִיָּה).¹ And this is the greatest pain for the faithful and steadfast adherents to the covenant, that members of their own nation take part in the abomination of desolations perpetrated by the heathens, and are, moreover, in consequence, invested with honour and dignity. The first problem of the Old Covenant, the success of the godless and the affliction of the godly, appears here in its climax. While we must succumb, shall the abominations of the impious and apostate remain unpunished? This was the question which the portion of the people that remained faithful had to address to their God. And, besides, to this question the words in chap. ix. 27, are an answer. The abominations (שְׁקִיזִים) must first reach their highest climax (כִּנְף), the measure of iniquity must first be full, then about the same time that confirmation of the covenant, and strengthening will be brought to the faithful by the Messiah, judgment also will descend on the ungodly for their iniquity. This judgment on transgressors is also elsewhere predicted, as connected with the Messianic times (*e.g.* Mal. iii. 14-21; Matt. iii. 12), and especially in the prophet Malachi the connection of ideas is the same as has been here developed.

A threefold comfort was needed by God's people in the time of Antiochus: 1st, Concerning the covenant of God. Is it destroyed for ever? 2d, Concerning themselves. Are we the true church of God, though we cannot serve Him in His temple, and offer sacrifices unto Him? 3d, Concerning the apostates. Are they permitted to commit the abominations with impunity? This threefold comfort for the time of antichrist is given (ix. 27), by directing the people to the time of Messiah, and the wise took heed to it (xii. 10). And we may now ask

¹ Roos (225): "If you compare ver. 32 with ver. 30, you will see how both Antiochus and the apostate Jews advanced in wickedness."

the reader, is it not taking a merely superficial view, if, from the resemblances existing between our chapter and the eleventh and eighth, the inference be drawn, that our prophecy refers to Antiochus Epiphanes?

Here we conclude our criticism of the opponents' views, and also our investigation of the ninth chapter of Daniel. We trust that the latter paragraphs have been successful in dissipating any remaining doubts or difficulties of the reader, in connection with the orthodox view held by the church in all ages, and adopted by us. For to the unprejudiced eye, thus much must be clear from our remarks, that all the other expositions given of the angelic message referring it to Antiochus Epiphanes, are wholly untenable, and that the modern view of Dan. ix. is without foundation, and must be given up. And thus our chapter proves a shield for the defence of our book and its genuineness. We hope we shall be able to prove the same of the second and seventh chapters.

THIRD PART.

THE BEASTS AND MAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUR BEASTS AND THE SON OF MAN IN DANIEL.

a. The Present state of the Question

THE exegetical question which divides critics concerning the universal monarchies of the second and seventh chapters, is essentially the same as that concerning the seventy prophetic weeks. Following the precedent of some older commentators, especially of Ephraem Syrus and Grotius, modern critics assert that these prophecies extend only to Antiochus Epiphanes, whilst we have already confessed our adherence to the view of the Church, according to which the fourth monarchy is the Roman empire, and of which Luther could say, that all the world was unanimous in this opinion and interpretation.¹ We have spoken at length in our First Part of the second, and especially of the seventh chapter, and need not, therefore, enter here into a minute development of their contents. We refer the reader to that chapter for a general view of the subject, and for the exposition of the details to *Hävernick's* Commentary, and

¹ Comp. *Wieseler*, die 70 Wochen, 146, who considers also the oldest history of the exegesis of our subject. *Josephus* also refers the fourth kingdom to the Roman.

especially to *Hofmann's* Exposition,¹ with the essential points of which we most cordially sympathize. *H. L. Reichel*, in his short essay "On the Four World-Kingdoms of the Prophet Daniel,"² gives correct general views, specially for the criticism of modern interpretations. We shall here consider, first, the views of our opponents, and after having refuted them, shall give such positive hints for the clearer understanding of the prophecy, as shall prepare our way for the consideration of the Beasts of the Revelations, the first of which is a combination of the four seen by the prophet. Even on this point our opponents are not united, but may be classified under three heads, represented by the Commentaries of *Bertholdt*, *von Lengerke*, and *Hitzig*, the most important commentaries of those that adopt the modern view. If we exclude the Roman monarchy, there remain, strictly speaking, only three, the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Greek; and the object of our opponents is to convert these three into four, to do which they have recourse to various means. *Bertholdt* refers the first monarchy to Babylon, the second to Medo-Persia, the third to the kingdom of Alexander, the fourth to that of his successors. His expedient is thus to analyse the third into two separate kingdoms. *Lengerke* leaves the third as it is, and divides the second. He understands by the first kingdom the Babylonian, by the second the Median, by the third the Persian, and by the fourth the kingdom of Alexander and his successors. As if to exhaust all possibilities, *Hitzig* takes the only mode which is thus left, and understands the first kingdom to be that of Nebuchadnezzar; the second that of his successor, Baltasar (Belshazzar); the third the Medo-Persian; and the fourth that of Alexander and his successors. However, he maintains this only of the second chapter, and gives a different interpretation of the seventh. Because Daniel received this vision after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, and under the government of Belshazzar, *Hitzig* concludes, that the first king-

¹ Weiss. u. Erf., p. 278-291.

² Studien und Kritiken, 1848, iv., p. 943-962.

dom stands for that of Belshazzar, the second for the Median, the third for the Persian, the fourth for that of Alexander and his successors. *Jahn* preceded *Hitzig* in giving different expositions to the two chapters, but found no follower. Such a separation of the two revelations is so violent, and so opposed to the impression of every unprejudiced reader, that we do not think it necessary to detain our readers with a refutation of *Hitzig's* view. He developed his view of chap. ii. as early as 1832, in the *Heidelberger Jahrbuch*, and it was adopted by *Redepenning*;¹ but it is sufficiently answered by the simple observation of *Lengerke*, which *Hitzig* has not refuted (p. 33), that in the second, seventh, and eighth chapters of Daniel, king and kingdom are represented as one, in such a manner, that nowhere do we find more than one king of the same kingdom mentioned; but wherever prominence is given to a king (as in ii. 37, 38, to Nebuchadnezzar, and in viii. 5, to Alexander), he appears, without exception, as the representative, the personification of the whole world-kingdom. In the second chapter *Hitzig* regards as one the Medo-Persian monarchy; in the seventh he separates the Median from the Persian, thus evincing his exegetical arbitrariness—an arbitrariness based on his disbelief that the sacred book has a reasonable and consistent plan (comp. p. 98), and which thinks no inconsistency and improbability of interpretation too great if it but serve the result, so firmly preconceived, that the prophecy extends only to Antiochus Epiphanes. With this exception, the variations of the exegesis of *Hitzig* and *von Lengerke* have too little foundation and importance to be treated of separately; they agree against *Bertholdt* in the chief point, that Alexander and his successors are to be taken together as forming the fourth monarchy. And for this reason, the view of the last mentioned scholar may be regarded as antiquated, since it is unanimously given up by the more recent representatives of the modern general view, among whom we

¹ *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1833, S. 363.

reckon also *Ewald*.¹ It is universally felt, that it is untextual and out of proportion to refer the fourth monarchy, the most terrible of all, which shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces (vii. 23), to the kingdom of the Diadochoi, comparatively so weak and insignificant. Hengstenberg has given a full refutation of Berthold's view in his *Beiträge*, p. 203, etc. Thus the dominant view of our opponents is the *Lengerke*, *Ewald*, and *Hitzig* view, which is adopted also by *De Wette* (p. 381), *Lücke* (p. 45), and others, and according to which the first kingdom is that of Babylon, the second the Median, the third the Persian, and the fourth that of Alexander and his successors. It is this view which we shall consider in the subsequent pages.

Our refutation of this view is difficult, from the circumstance, that owing to reasons explained above, the text of both chapters passes rapidly over the second and third monarchies, which are of chief importance here (ii. 32, 39; vii. 5, 6, 17); while, on the other hand, we enjoy a great advantage, in the fulness with which the second part of Daniel treats of these very monarchies (chap. viii. x. xi. xii). This furnishes us with a ground above all doubt on which the subject must be discussed. We begin, therefore, with a general comparison of the visions referring to the world-power, as contained in the first and second parts of Daniel.

¹ With a few unimportant modifications, *loc. cit.* 558. *Ewald's* hypothesis furnishes again, unintentionally, an argument in favour of truth. He supposes the author of Daniel to understand by the four kingdoms, those of Chaldea, Media, Persia, and Greece; but the Median and Persian form one, as the author himself indicates, by combining them in chap. viii., under the symbol of a he-goat with two horns; hence *Ewald* infers, that the author made use of a book in which the four kingdoms stood for *Assyria*, Chaldea, Medo-Persia, and Greece. In this there lies virtually the admission, that the text contains a fourth monarchy, in addition to the three last mentioned. But in order not to let the prophecy extend beyond Antiochus, any expedient, however arbitrary, is adopted, and (against 2, 37, 38) the fourth monarchy is prefixed, instead of being added to the third.

II. CRITICISM OF THE MODERN VIEW.

1. *A General Comparison of the Visions of the First and Second Parts.*

The modern view of Daniel does not recognise the difference which we have pointed out between the first and second part of the book—between prophecies which refer to the whole, or such as concern the more immediate future. According to this criticism, the second and seventh chapters, as well as the eighth and eleventh, refer only to Antiochus Epiphanes; they are all *Vaticinia post eventum*, and repetitions of the same events under different forms. We have shown, in the beginning, that insipid monotony is thus found in the book. And let it not be objected, that we cannot deny that the seventh chapter is a repetition of the second, and the eleventh of the eighth; for there is not only a great difference between saying the same thing twice, and four or five times, but, as we have seen, the seventh chapter is not merely a repetition of the second, and the eleventh of the eighth, but these chapters contain other aspects and further developments of the same subjects, which is not the case, for instance, in the eighth chapter, viewed in its relation to the seventh. We now turn our attention to the essential difference between the first and second part, and will thence show the incompatibility of the view of our opponents with the text of the first part.

I. To begin with the clearest and most evident point, the conclusion of the visions. Both in the second and seventh chapters, the Messianic kingdom appears after the four universal monarchies, and as a judgment upon them; in the one under the figure of a stone, which breaks in pieces the metal image; in the other under the figure of the Son of Man, to whom is given the government of the world. We do not meet with this

in the eighth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters. The former concludes simply with the death of Antiochus (viii. 25); and this difference between this vision and the two former must surely have struck the prophet as remarkable. Again, after the judgment passed on the enemy of God's kingdom, described in chap. vii., the Messiah appears to take for ever the government of the world into his hands; after the death of the enemy, described in chap. viii., and in whom we all recognize Antiochus, the Messiah does not appear. How then is it possible that the two enemies can be identical?

But our opponents appeal to xii. 2, 3; there, they say, it is distinctly prophesied, that the resurrection, and consequently the beginning of the Messianic kingdom will commence after the death of Antiochus, and after the time of distress, which is brought upon Israel by this king (xi. 45; xii. 1). But this very feature is characteristic. This chapter speaks only of the resurrection; that is, of the event which has reference to the single individual, while the second and seventh chapters speak of the overthrow of the kingdoms of the world by the kingdom of the Messiah. In those chapters, something referring to individuals, is mentioned with great emphasis; an individual importance, which is marked by the expression רבים concerning the resurrection, xii. 2. But here, an event of universal character is prophesied, and in both chapters, ii. and vii., in a similar manner, while the resurrection is spoken of in chapter xii. but not in chapter viii. If, as we certainly know, but only from the New Testament, both events, the revelation of the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection, are contemporary, it is very clear and manifest why the first event is mentioned in the second and seventh chapters, with a quite different degree of importance from that attached to the second event in the twelfth chapter.

But this will become still more evident, if we take a closer view of the relation in which the announcement of the resurrection stands to the prophecy of the eleventh chapter, which refers to the whole, and precedes the former; and if we compare it

with the relation which, in the second and seventh chapters, is shown to subsist between the dawn of the Messianic kingdom and the development preparing and preceding it. The משכילים xii. 3 allude to the משכילים xi. 33, 35; the מצויקי הרבים to the יבינו לרבים xi. 33. This explains to us why the resurrection is mentioned at all, namely, for the purpose of distinguishing between the resurrection unto eternal life, and unto eternal confusion and shame. It is not for the purpose of intimating a progress in the development of history, but to point out the eternal retribution which was awaiting the Israelites, according to their conduct during the great time of temptation under Antiochus; those who break the covenant are eternally lost; those who remain faithful, and especially those who strengthen their brethren, and show unto them the path of life, are saved and raised to eternal glory. We have here a parallel to the epistles to the seven churches, in the revelations of John, which contain promises for those who overcome, threats for those who fall away. To show the causal connection between the behaviour of the individuals during the time of probation and their eternal state—this is the sole purpose for which the resurrection is introduced; as to the chronological relation between the time of distress and the resurrection, not the slightest intimation is given.¹ It is worthy of remark, in relation to this point, that the phrase, “at that time,” occurs twice in xii. 1, while no time is fixed in ver. 2 and 3. The angel has hitherto prophesied the development of history, without adding any remark or exhortation; he thus concludes his predictions, by adding the strongest imaginable incitement to faithful perseverance. And this incitement must necessarily have the stronger effect, as the resurrection, though traces of a knowledge of this fact may be found in earlier

¹ Hence, properly speaking, there is no necessity to refer here, as *Hengstenberg* (Beit. 1. 497), and *Hofmann* (Weiss. u. Erfüll, 1, 314), do to prophetic perspective; or to refer the time mentioned, xii. 1, to the whole period up to the Parousia, as is done by *Hävernich* and *Ebrard* (Revel. p. 85).—comp. the analogy of Matt. xxvii. 21–29.

prophets (Isaiah xxvi. 19, 21 ; Ezek. xxxvii.), had never been brought forward so distinctly and powerfully as here, and especially had never been shown in its connection with retribution. We may see what fruits this revelation produced in the case of the Maccabean mother and her sons, who suffered themselves to be killed, while they confessed their faith in the resurrection, in words similar to those of our verses (2 Macc. vii. 9, 14, 23). Let us turn now to the second and seventh chapters; the object here is to prophecy the course of history objectively. After the fourth kingdom, the fifth or Messianic kingdom is mentioned, as succeeding and putting an end to the fourth, and the fourth succeeded and put an end to the third, etc. One has simply to put the question: Does the resurrection in xii. 2, 3, put an end to Antiochus Epiphanes in the same way, as the appearing of the Stone or Son of Man, puts an end to the kingdom of the world? And one will see clearly the immense difference between the revelations of the first and second parts. Hence, it is clear, that the mention of the resurrection, xii. 2, 3, is something quite different from the coming of the Messianic kingdom in the second and seventh chapters, and its prophecy serves a different purpose; the two prophecies cannot, and must not, be placed in any sense whatever, in the same category. The prophecy of the eleventh and twelfth chapters is therefore of the same nature as that of the eighth.

And we are thus led to the important result: the prophecies of the second part (those under consideration), conclude with the death of Antiochus; those of the first part with the overthrow of the power of the world by the kingdom of the Messiah. Thus an important difference subsists between the two, at least as regards the final point. The second part does not extend so far into the future as the first. For, since the enemy described in the seventh chapter is the last, after whose overthrow the Messianic kingdom is established, it follows, necessarily, that the enemy spoken of in chapters viii. and xi. preceded him. The Greek monarchy, the culminating point of which is Antio-

chus, must therefore precede the fourth and last, which was revealed to Daniel in the vision of the seventh chapter.

II. But we must notice that not only regarding the concluding part of the visions, but also as regards the starting point and the powers of the world spoken of, there is a considerable difference between the first and second part of our book. It is certain that the second and seventh chapters both speak of four kingdoms of the world, the eighth and eleventh only of two, namely, the Medo-Persian and Greek (viii. 20, 21 ; xi. 2). It is conceded, on all sides, that the first part still includes likewise the Babylonian empire, according to ii. 37, 38.

Now, holding the views of our opponents, it cannot be understood why the author, whom they suppose to have lived in the time of the Maccabees, took so much trouble with the kingdoms of the world, which had perished long before. For if he intended to encourage and strengthen his suffering and struggling compatriots,¹ he certainly displayed in his book a very useless amount of historical erudition. This has especial force when we consider the eleventh chapter, which, on the supposition of its being a *vaticinium post eventum*, is in truth still more inexplicable, than when we view it as it stands, and in the character it professes. The uninspired author could scarcely have chosen a form less adapted to his purpose, which was to kindle the enthusiasm of his nation for the decisive moment, than by developing in such a lengthy and historical manner, events for the understanding of which those who lived after them, required to gather varied information by laborious and tedious research. If such was his purpose, would he not rather have chosen the impassioned language of earlier prophets, which, as is evident from the prayer of the ninth chapter, was equally at his command? How was it possible that, in such a period, he could expect his countrymen to believe in a new and unprecedented

¹ De Wette, Einl. in's A. T., p. 390.

species of prophecy? At such a time, the object was to strike time-hallowed patriotic chords! What hope could he entertain of inspiring the people of God by such human inventions of a laboriously framed poem? Truly, if the Israelites had to learn and to study this book for the first time in the prospect of persecution, if it had not been that long before they had appropriated its words as their spiritual nourishment, the book would have profited them nothing.

This whole view, like the corresponding hypotheses of modern New Testament criticism, bears distinctly the stamp of the region whence it originated. It is perfectly devoid of all natural vigour, healthiness, and soundness of historical vision. The critic, sitting in his study, imagines the author, who lived in a time of mighty earnest conflicts, during which it was treason not to take part in a struggle so holy, to have been a man sitting in a study like himself. Imagine a Jewish patriot, as our opponents generally style the author, sitting at his desk to write antique prophecies, instead of taking up his sword or inspiring his people by the power of his words; imagine him seeking help in his own artistic productions instead of the living God. When shall we cease transferring the languor and sickness of our age, the age of the Epigonoi, to the early grand times of heroism? Such views are only possible as long as they are viewed in their negative polemical aspect, but, try to *realise* them, and they dissolve into nothing. It cannot even be imagined at what period, according to this theory, the author wrote the book. If he wrote before the death of Antiochus, how is it that he was so intimately acquainted with all the circumstances preceding that event, that he predicted it to the very day? If he wrote after his death, how could he possibly connect with this event his Messianic dreams?

But in either case, the book, with its Messianic prophecies, would have been rejected soon after its appearance, on account of the evident falseness of its predictions. How, then, can it be accounted for, that it attained canonical dignity!

And even granted, for argument's sake, that the author was a mere writer and composer—how clumsy was his contrivance! If it was his object to comfort his copatriots in their heavy affliction, by showing them, that the worldly powers which oppressed God's people, were always punished and finally overthrown, he would naturally lay stress and emphasis on their fall, to render thereby the destruction of Antiochus probable. But he by no means does this. On the contrary, critics wonder (comp. *Hitzig*, p. 16) that, according to the representations given in the second and seventh chapters, it seems that the earlier kingdoms are not destroyed till the last is overthrown (ii. 34, 35; vii. 11, 12). Thus the author would pass over the very central point, which it was of chief importance to mention. Instead of inferring the overthrow of Antiochus from that of the former kingdoms, it is the reverse. From Antiochus' overthrow, the inference is to be drawn concerning the preceding powers; and if so, why, according to our opponent's view, were the former kingdoms mentioned at all; what purpose do they serve?

They say, moreover, that everything refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. But why has the author not given the least indication of this in the first six chapters? why has he not given the least hint of Antiochus, especially in the second chapter, which, as is admitted by all commentators, contains the outlines of all the visions occurring in the book? The image of the monarchies ends in ten toes; but we can discover no vestige of a last king, who would correspond here to the little horn arising from between the ten horns in chapter vii. How signally the author would have defeated his object, by placing at the head of the entire series of visions, just that one in which was altogether wanting—the chief point for which the book was composed. Such a procedure would certainly have led the reader astray, and diverted his attention from the main object. Surely the zealous patriot has given himself superfluous trouble, by occupying himself, in a time full of extreme danger to his fatherland,

with so many foreign kingdoms, that had perished long before ; and it is quite unpardonable in him to put in the most prominent place, which is meant to serve as the introduction and foundation of the whole, such superfluous, unnecessary, and adventitious matter alone, and completely to forget the object of his writing. According to the views of our opponents, it seems that even in ancient times the scholar supplanted the Patriot and Man ; and erudition took the place, not only of the heart, but even of common sense !

We see that the view of our opponents is incompatible, in the most essential points, with the text itself ; it is not capable of entering into the manifold riches and depth, especially of the first part of the sacred prophecy. The fulness of Scripture cannot be bounded and circumscribed by so narrow and meagre a scheme. And this will appear yet more evident, when we consider the individual features of the monarchies. If the modern view of our book and its object is not capable of accounting for the full and lengthy mention made of the world-kingdoms in general, it is still less able to account for the manner in which the individual kingdoms are treated.

In the first place, our opponents cannot explain, why the first and second parts are at all different—why the supposed writer, from his Maccabean stand-point, looks back to different epochs : in the second and seventh chapters to the Babylonian kingdom, in the eighth only as far as the Medo-Persian, in the seventh no further than the Persian. They cannot explain why, in the first mentioned two chapters, there are four, in both the others but two monarchies enumerated ; and in connection with this, as we shall show more at length subsequently, they cannot give a satisfactory reason why the eighth chapter speaks of the Medo-Persian kingdoms as one ; while, in the second and seventh chapters, according to their view, it is analysed into two. Taking the book as genuine, and as what it asserts itself to be, we have a simple and natural answer to all these questions, in the different times in which the revelations were vouchsafed, and

in the different objects of the first and second parts. The revelation of the eighth chapter took place in the third year of Belshazzar, a time in which the Babylonian empire was decaying so rapidly, that it neither required nor deserved a more minute consideration. The revelations of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters, were given to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, and thus neither the Babylonians, nor even the Medians, needed to be mentioned; consequently, the kingdoms here spoken of, are Persia and Greece, x. 13, 20, xi. 2. We have already dwelt largely on the different purpose, which the two parts of the book were to serve, and the consequent difference in the extent of field surveyed by the prophetic eye.

But even if we admit that the author might go back to ancient kingdoms, in order to attain to a certain fulness and completeness in his enumeration of previous world-kingdoms, we must find it strange, as is hinted by *Ewald*, that he did not mention also the Assyrian, perhaps even the Egyptian, kingdom. A man living in the days of the Maccabees, looking back on the previous sufferings which Israel had to bear from the world-power, had no particular reason for choosing to begin with the Babylonian kingdom first, as little reason as to leave it out in the later chapters. But who can avoid seeing, in this very circumstance, that the Babylonian kingdom is mentioned as the first—a new and important proof that the date of our book is that of the Babylonian exile, and that on the supposition of the genuineness of Daniel, a multitude of phenomena actually lying before us, and which must remain unaccounted for and unintelligible to modern criticism, are seen to have a rational basis. In the Apocalypse of St John, which contains indeed a retrospect from a later standpoint, we will find *Egypt and Assyria also* sketched, though dimly, in the back ground. We have seen in our first chapter, that the reason why Daniel begins with the Babylonian kingdom, was not merely his external, personal, and historical position, but an inner reason, related to the whole development of the history of revelation. For it was from the beginning of

the Babylonian exile that the existence of an independent Theocracy on earth ceased, and is not restored even to this hour; the empire of the world-powers still endures.

Our opponents admit, that the author was aiming at a certain completeness in the enumeration of the monarchies of the world contained in the second and seventh chapters; but it is impossible for them to seize the real meaning, the deep significance, and the grand circle of the survey of the text. And, at this juncture, the whole material importance which attaches to our difference from the view adopted by modern criticism, comes to light. According to the latter, the book of Daniel furnishes us merely with a fragment of political history from Nebuchadnezzar to Antiochus Epiphanes; according to our view, that is, according to what the book says of itself, it intends to represent something infinitely deeper and more sublime, namely, *the relation of the two fundamental powers of universal history*, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, from the time when the kingdom of God ceases to exist as a separate state, till the time when it shall be re-established as such in glory. And thus our book becomes truly a prophetic, and hence a canonical book, since it places all detail and individual history in the light of the whole development of the divine plan of salvation, and the government of the world, and reaches even unto the end of time.¹

¹ *Historiae philosophiam vere divinam extremis lineamentis liber Danielis depingit*, is one of the Theses advanced by Bruno Bauer, in his Dissertation, Berlin, 1804. Comp. Lücke, p. 39. The antithesis we speak of is strikingly described by Richard Amner (*Essays on the Prophecies of Daniel*, translated from the English, Halle, 1779, p. 5):—"According to the great Isaac Newton and others, the prophecies of Daniel are a sacred calendar, and the great almanac of prophecy; or, in other words, a prophetic chronology, beginning with the succession of the four great monarchies, from the commencement of the Jewish captivity till the mystery of God shall be fulfilled; while, on the other hand, Grotius and his followers are not able to discover in them anything else except bygone persecutions of the Jews." Amner himself, however, agrees with the latter. He explains, page 66, the passage xii. 2, 3, to refer to the Jews coming out from the subterranean caves and hiding-places, where they had been concealed during persecutions; and by the fifth kingdom, which now

If it extend only to Antiochus, it would be without the stamp of that divine illumination, which gives universality to the horizon of view, and an insight into the fundamental essence of things. It would, consequently, be destitute of canonical dignity and authority.

Nor can it be said, that the Messianic passages of the second and seventh chapters are not affected by the modern view. This makes things only worse; for, on this supposition, these Messianic prophecies were not fulfilled, and thus showed themselves to be vain dreams. Neither can it avail our opponents to appeal to the former prophets, who likewise expected the Messianic kingdom, for instance, after the fall of Babylon, or, as our author, after the fall of Antiochus; for the prophetic perspective view of a seer, inspired by God himself, is entirely different from the historical, chronological assertion of a "Jewish Patriot," of a philosophising author.

We can here see the importance of the completeness of the enumeration of the universal monarchies, and the grounds of difference between the first and second parts, viz. that in the one there are always four, in the other always two kingdoms mentioned. Daniel had received disclosures in the first part of his prophecy concerning the course of the powers of the world in general; in the second part he is to receive revelations concerning the development of this power from his time to that of Antiochus, and therefore the number of the kingdoms is of no importance, and is therefore not mentioned anywhere with emphasis, as, in general, the number two has no peculiar signification in Holy Scripture. The view here is a purely historical one, and moreover, refers to a special period of history. The first part has for its object the whole period of the supremacy of the powers of the world. It is necessary, therefore, to

every one refers to the times of the Messiah, he understands, as Grotius does, the Roman, which having become Christian, was to last for ever, page 93. The Son of Man, in contrast to the beasts, is, according to him, meant to symbolize the Roman Republic, contrasted with the monarchies!

give not only a comparatively, but even an absolutely, complete enumeration of these kingdoms, extending even to the end, to the overthrow of the world-power. Hence the number is of importance; the number four which is brought forward prominently in both chapters (ii. 39, 40; vii. 7, 17, 19, 23).

We took occasion, previously, to speak of the significance of the numbers seven and ten, and we saw that the former symbolizes the revelation of the divine, the latter the development of the worldly. A similar relation subsists between the numbers three and four. Four and ten are numbers of the world. Three and seven numbers of God. As numbers of the world, four stands in the same relation to ten, that three stands in to seven as numbers of God. "Three is the number of God, and symbolizes God in the unity and perfection of His Being; four is the number of the world, and symbolizes the world in the unity and consummation of its development."¹ Therefore the power of the world is exhausted in the four kingdoms of the world. The ground and reason of this signification of four lies, as may be seen, from Daniel vii. 2, 3 (comp. viii. 8), in the four winds and regions of the world, which represent the world exhaustively, so to say, in all its directions and parts. That four and ten are nearly related numbers of the world, may be also seen from this, that the third monarchy is divided into four, the fourth into ten kingdoms; as soon as the occidental kingdoms come to be divided, the division is made by these two numbers. Moreover, the whole system and essence of the world is represented in the fourth kingdom, which again resolves itself into ten kingdoms.

The four beasts mentioned in Daniel are likewise counterparts and caricatures of the four that occur in Ezekiel. The ארבע דיונות of Ezek. i. 5, assume, with Dan. vii. 3, the Chaldean heathenish form of ארבע דיונות. Ezekiel's vision took place in the fifth year of the captivity of King Jehoiacin (Ezek. i. 2), consequently 593 B.C. Daniel saw his vision in the first year

¹ Hofmann, quoted by Delitzsch, p. 412.

of Belshazzar (Dan. vii. 1) ; hence, at all events, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which took place 563 B.C., and consequently more than thirty years after Ezekiel. It is quite possible that Daniel had read and digested the vision of Ezekiel, as we had previously occasion to remark, that Ezekiel knew of Daniel. This gives us a beautiful glimpse into the communion of the captive people and its prophets. The four beasts or cherubs of Ezekiel represent the life of the world in its highest phase, directed towards God, and thus becoming an organ of divine revelation ; the four beasts of Daniel are the opposite of this, its caricature. They represent the life of the world, alienated from God, falling ever deeper and deeper, and becoming finally the organ of the devil. The living creatures of Ezekiel are composed of man, lion, bull, and eagle ; those of Daniel are the lion with eagle's wings, the bear, the leopard, and a fourth beast not named. The first of Daniel's beasts, the noblest of all, evidently alludes to those of Ezekiel ; the others are, in the nature of the thing, of a less noble character than those of Ezekiel. Thus, as we saw the substratum of the seventy prophetic weeks of Daniel in Jeremiah, so we find, though not expressly, yet scarcely less distinctly, a relation to Ezekiel, and in both cases these relationships are indicated through significant numbers.

To return to our immediate subject, we see from all this, that Daniel introduces the four kingdoms of the world, with the consciousness and intention of representing by them the totality of the power of the world—a point which the modern view is incapable of understanding, because it refers the latter visions only to Antiochus Epiphanes, and cannot tell why the former visions begin with these particular kingdoms. The hypothesis, which does not distinguish between the first and second part, is incapable of explaining the book, and is incompatible with the most essential points of the text, both as regards the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world, both in reference to the whole, and in reference to particulars. The following special compari-

son of the seventh and eighth chapters will place this yet in a still more striking light :—

II. THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CHAPTERS COMPARED ; THE
SECOND AND THIRD MONARCHIES.

Our opponents are fond of appealing to the resemblance between the seventh and eighth chapters ; in both, they say, the whole development of the heathenish world-power ends in the hostile king, who is represented as a little horn growing, from among the other horns ; it is evident, they infer, that the little horn must signify the same thing in the one case as in the other ; consequently, also, in the seventh chapter, reference must be made to Antiochus Epiphanes. At first sight this representation looks very plausible, but only then. But a closer examination shows, that the strongest proofs against the modern view, and in favour of ours, are furnished by a comparison of these two chapters. In the following remarks, we shall endeavour to show, first negatively, the inferences deducible from such a comparison against the modern interpretation of the four beasts, and then positively, those in favour of the explanation given at all times by the Church.

I. The very circumstance, that both chapters represent the world-power as culminating in a little horn, seems to us to speak more against, than in favour of, the modern view. For, if we suppose our book to contain lofty ideas, and a deep systematic order, it must appear improbable, that such a simple repetition should occur in it. However, this is a point on which we would not insist. But a second glance at the passages shows, that all the preceding and subsequent elements in connection with the little horn, are different in the two chapters, and that consequently the two horns cannot be identical. We have spoken already of the subsequent part, after the overthrow of the little horn, in chap. vii. The kingdom of the Messiah follows ; in

chap. viii. it is not succeeded by anything. But we turn now, to look at what precedes the little horn, and first the other horns, and then the beasts, out of which the little horn springs up.

In the seventh chapter, we find ten horns, from between which the little horn arises; and in the eighth verse four, and the little horn arises from one of them. Thus, not only the number of the preceding horns is different, but also the relation in which the little horn stands to them; in the seventh chapter an independent eleventh horn, in the eighth not an independent fifth, but only a new horn, which, with its branches, arises out of one of the four existing, and thus belongs and is annexed to it. We merely point out this striking circumstance here, leaving the interpretation of the horn to a subsequent paragraph, in which we shall treat of the subject at length.

If possible, still more striking and startling is the contrast between the beasts of the seventh and eighth chapters, which, according to the modern view, must be proved identical. Can the light fleet he-goat, who flies over the whole face of the earth, without touching the ground, be identical with the terrible fourth form, which devours and breaks in pieces the whole earth, and for whose terrible and exceeding dreadful appearance, the prophet cannot find a corresponding beast (vii. 7, 19, 23)? Let him who is determined and is able, believe it. Does not the he-goat rather remind the reader at once of the leopard of the seventh chapter?

Turning now in the eighth chapter from the he-goat to the ram preceding it, we find it interpreted in the twentieth verse, to mean the Medo-Persian kingdom. What corresponds to it in the seventh chapter? According to our opponent's view, the bear stands for the Median, and the leopard for the Persian, kingdom. Accordingly, in chap. viii., the ram represents in one shape, what is analyzed in chap. vii. into bear and leopard. This does not seem probable from the context; and, *a priori*, we should be inclined to prefer an explanation which avoids such a startling difference between two adjoining chapters, and does

not require us to separate in the one what is joined in the other. We naturally expect and presuppose, that the same harmony shall subsist between chapters vii. and viii., as we found to exist between chapters ii. and vii. But even if this were not the case, it would be more natural to expect the reverse of what modern criticism finds, viz., that the eighth chapter, being more circumstantial, than the general and extensive seventh, should contain in minuter analysis, what the other represents in compendious unity.

Leaving this, however, out of consideration, it can be shown, that it is quite arbitrary to separate the Median kingdom from the Persian, and that our book knows as little about a special Median universal monarchy, as the rest of history.¹ History is totally ignorant of such a kingdom, and thus the prophet is made to commit a great historical error in speaking of a Median kingdom, as having possessed the same universal historical importance, as the Babylonian, the Persian, and Grecian. But this universal monarchy is not the invention of Daniel, but solely of the commentators, to rescue them out from their difficulty, and enable them to enumerate four world-kingdoms, besides the Roman. The prophet speaks, both in the historical and prophetic portions, of the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, as of one whole (viii. 20, v. 28, vi. 8, 12, 15); it is this kingdom, and not a Median, which succeeds the Babylonian (v. 28). The first king of this kingdom is Darius the Median (vi. 1, ix. 1, xi. 1); the second is Kores, or Cyrus the Persian (vi. 28). But because from Cyrus onwards, the rulers on the Medo-Persian throne were Persians only, it is naturally spoken of subsequently as the *Persian* kingdom (x. 1, 13, 20, xi. 2). Daniel not only speaks nowhere of a separate Median kingdom, but even under the reign of Darius, the kingdom is designated as that of the Medes and Persians (vi. 8, 12, 15). This is the state of things as shown by exegesis; and it is clear to

¹ Comp. Hengstenberg, Beiträge, p. 199-201.

the very weakest intelligence, that in the whole of our prophet, from first to last, there is no vestige of a Median universal monarchy. The fiction was repeated by one modern critic after another, none being able to propose a better expedient, and after passing through so many books, this theory shared the fate of other modern learned myths, and attained to historical authority.¹

The historical facts, as far as it is possible for us to know them from Xenophon's statements, and those of other historians, are probably the following:—Babylon was conquered in the year 538 B.C., in the name of the Median Darius, by Cyrus, who was at that period still a dependent king of Persia, and commander of the Medo-Persian army. In the expression קבל מלכותא (vi. 1, comp. vii. 18), and in the use of the Hophal חמלך, Dan. ix. 1, we see hints, that Darius did not gain the kingdom by his own energy, but that he received it through the military enterprise of another, and was "made a king." Darius gave his daughter in marriage to Cyrus; and as he himself had no male successor, he appointed him to be heir to the throne. Darius, however, died, after reigning two years over the whole kingdom—a reign which he commenced so late as his sixty-second year (v. 31), and as he was a weak king, to judge from chap. vi., it appears that during these two years the reins of government were almost entirely in the hands of Cyrus, who acceded to the throne in 536 B.C. We shall find also in the visions of the seventh and eighth chapters of Daniel, this relation of the Persian element to the Median, in the universal monarchy, which survived the Babylonian, and shall see, that

¹ For example, the influence which it is asserted Persian religious views had upon the later books of the Old Testament, consequently also on Daniel. Even Lücke (p. 55-60) speaks of this at length, without adducing any historical proof whatever. These things belong to the traditional fictions of exegesis, to the "various products of the negative hypothesis, which the hyper-liberty of criticism has brought forth, and which are apt, from their vague and uncertain shape, to pass over into stereotype scholastic traditions."—J. P. Lange *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, i. 187.

the former element preponderated very considerably. The reign of the Median, Darius, was so short and insignificant, that it is easily explained why Herodotus and Ctesias do not mention it at all, and transfer the king's history, in its chief feature, to his Father, Astyages,¹ while they agree with Daniel in the main point, namely in this, that they connect the Persian power and the Median, and represent the former as the continuation of the latter. If it were possible, we would say, that they knew even less than our prophet of a special Median universal monarchy. On the other hand, Xenophon knows Darius the Mede only under the name of Cyaxares II.; and what he tells us of him, in his *Cyropædia*, corresponds even to the description of character with the statements of Daniel concerning the Median Darius.²

II. Thus we see, that the separate enumeration of a Median universal monarchy and a Persian, which is the basis of the whole modern interpretation of the second and seventh chapters, is in every respect untenable. It is incompatible with the whole book of Daniel, and with history, moreover the analogy of the eighth chapter is against it. This overthrows the view taken by modern criticism, of the four world-kingdoms as a whole; for this separate enumeration of Persia and Media being impossible, simple arithmetical reasons compel us to look for a fourth monarchy besides the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian.

If we compare the seventh and eighth chapters accurately

¹ Comp. *Hitzig*. p. 76. As usual he turns the state of things upside down. Other commentators identify the Mede with Astyages, comp. *Winer Realwörterbuch*, article Darius. *Ebrard* (*Offenbarung Joh.*, p. 44), has given up his somewhat fantastic hypothesis, formed after the Duke of Manchester's precedent, and adopted another as strange and impossible. For if, as we have shown, Daniel always views the kingdoms of Medes and Persians conjointly, Darius the Mede cannot possibly be identical with the last Babylonian king, Naboned. We acknowledge that this subject is beset with many difficulties. Perhaps inscriptions shall be discovered to throw light on it. But the chief point, that a Median universal monarchy never existed, is beyond doubt.

² Comp. Hävernick, *Commentar*, p. 201-211. Schultz, as above, p. 682-685, 668-660.

we shall advance from this merely negative result. Such a comparison points out unmistakeably, that the ram is identical with the bear, the he-goat with the leopard. And since the ram is expressly explained to be the Medo-Persian, and the he-goat the Greek empire, viii. 20, 21, it is clear how we must interpret the bear and the leopard.

Hofmann makes the correct general remark, that the ram and he-goat represent a parallel antithesis of clumsy firmness, and flexible agility, like bear and leopard. But there are other individual features, in which the resemblance of the two pairs of beasts appears in a striking light. The ram, viii. 3, has two horns, the one higher than the other, the higher taking its rise later than the lower. It is generally admitted that the lower horn signifies the Median, the higher one the Persian element of the kingdom. Of the bear, again, it is said, viii., "it raised up itself on one side." Most of the modern commentators, *Hävernick*, *Hitzig*, and others, explain this only in different senses, "he stood on one side." But this is arbitrary, since the Hiphil הִקְיִם is clearly distinguished from the Hophal הִקְיִם v. 4; the ל in לְשֹׁרֵר is the Chaldaic nota accusativi (*Winer*, *Chald. Grammar*, sec. 56, 2). However, this difference of interpretation is not of great importance to the argument. It is evident that we have the same contrast in the two sides of the bears, as in the two horns of the ram. The Medians are the lower side, the element of inert passiveness; the Persians are the upper, the predominant active element, and ruling and waging war. It may easily be seen how accurately this coincides with the historical characters thus given above. If it were allowable to translate "he stood on one side," then this would be a similar designation of the Persian, as the props and pillars of the kingdom.

The parallelism between leopard and he-goat is still more striking. The former flies over the earth without touching the ground; to the latter there are expressly ascribed four wings, vii. 6, which represents rapid motion, striving upwards and

laterally. Their number, four, refers to the four quarters of the world, the whole of which, Alexander, in the triumphant flight of his ambition, was to subjugate to himself. The same relation which subsists between the four winds (vii. 2), and the four beasts (vii. 3), subsists on a smaller scale between the four wings of the leopard and its four heads. This kingdom, moving in four directions, is divided into four different kingdoms, which are represented by the four heads. It is manifestly an intentional allusion to this feature, that in the eighth chapter the he-goat gains four notable horns, viii. 8, after the great horn representing Alexander, is destroyed; and these four grow toward the four winds of heaven, and represent the four kingdoms into which the kingdom of Alexander was divided among his successors (viii. 21, 22; xi. 4). Macedonia and Asia represent the antithesis of west and east, Syria and Egypt (chap. xi.), of north and south. We have spoken above of the identity of the four horns of the he-goat, and the four heads of the leopard, and discovered in it only a specimen of the general law which prevails throughout the book, that the later prophecy resumes and enlarges the former.

This, then, is the result of our investigation. Daniel himself furnishes us with more minute particulars concerning the second and third monarchy in the eight chapter, and refutes by them all those interpretations, which do not understand the former to be the Medo-Persian kingdom, the latter that of Alexander and his successors, including, according to chap. viii. 20, Antiochus.

To interpret the second and third kingdoms in the seventh chapters, and, consequently, also in the second in any other way, one must ignore intentionally the statements of the eighth chapter. But this shows clearly that the fourth monarchy is subsequent to Antiochus, and points out the Roman empire—a result at which we arrived before, from a different point of view, and we shall reach the same goal by yet a third path.

III. THE FOURTH MONARCHY, THE TEN HORNS.

The necessity of taking the Greek monarchy as the third, has thus been proved; but we can show further, that the fourth cannot be the Greek. The contrast, which we dwelt upon before, and which, in the prophetic description, lies between the fourth beast and the he-goat, which last is expressly declared to designate the Greek kingdom, would, of itself, decide the question. The fourth beast, besides its terrible aspect, is characterised explicitly by its ten horns, three of which are plucked out by the roots before the eleventh little horn, and upon these three we must now fix our attention. Modern criticism points out, with great satisfaction, that it is easy to trace the ten kings in Assyrian history, and imagines that in this it finds a firm support for its assertions. But a closer investigation will show that the reverse is the case.

C. von Lengerke enumerates, p. 320, following Bertholdt, the Syrian kings, which are, according to him, represented by the ten horns, in the following order:—1. Seleucus I., Nicator, founder of the kingdom of Syria. 2. Antiochus Soter; 3. Antiochus Theos; 4. Seleucus II., Kaleinikos; 5. Seleucus III., Keraunus; 6. Antiochus the Great; 7. Seleucus IV., Philopator. The three following are the three horns rooted out. After Philopator was assassinated by Heliodorus, the latter usurped the throne (thus 8. Heliodorus). But, at the same time, a party declared in favour of 9. Ptolemy IV., Philometor of Egypt, whom his mother, Cleopatra, *wished* to help to the Syrian throne. And finally, 10. Demetrius I, Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, *was* to have succeeded to the throne; but as he happened to be then at Rome as an hostage, and did not insist on his claims, Antiochus Epiphanes, second son of Antiochus the Great, and brother of Seleucus Philopator, succeeded without dispute.

Hitzig (p. 121) is candid enough to admit that the Egyptian

king, Ptolemy, cannot be enumerated among the Syrian kings, because it is even doubtful whether his mother was desirous to promote him to the throne; but then he can enumerate only nine kings, and falls on the expedient of prefixing to the nine Alexander the Great.

By the three horns rooted out, he understands Heliodorus, Demetrius, and Seleucus Philopator, although he admits that Antiochus Epiphanes was not concerned in the assassination of the first; but he thinks appearances were against Antiochus, and that the deed is ascribed to him who profits by it, while public opinion in Israel certainly thought Antiochus capable of the worst. Such a method of treating history will surely be found exceedingly convenient. *Hitzig* adds, also, that we have no further details, and that this part of Syrian history is, in general, very obscure and unauthentic, and that it is possible the author was influenced in his statements by his love of the number three. Thus the critic smooths down his difficulty by laying to the charge of the author the mistake he himself commits. Such a principle would destroy all exegesis. In our case, it amounts simply to this, that our opponent's explanation confesses it is incapable of treating the text as it stands, and has to form and shape it in order to coincide with it. And the same critic, *Hitzig*, brings forward against our view, as represented by Hengstenberg, that it gives up the attempt to explain the number ten, the three horns and the eleventh, since it looks forward to a still future and final fulfilment of the prophecy.

It is easy to show that this whole mode of conception, in either shape, is incompatible with the text, not only with the words, but also the meaning of the seventh chapter, as we have it explained to us, by comparing the seventh and eighth chapters with the Revelation of St John.

I. In the text of the seventh chapter, the ten kings are distinctly co-ordinate, both in dignity and time. The modern view supposes, with regard to dignity, only seven, or, as *Hitzig* owns,

eight kings were co-ordinate in dignity, besides two or three others who were not kings at all, but only pretenders to the crown, as Heliodorus, or who were destined to accede to the throne by maternal wishes and plans, as Ptolemy, or who might have, by possibility, succeeded, as Demetrius. And this is said to be indicated by three of ten co-ordinate horns being plucked up from the root. Daniel ought, then, to have written that seven horns grew up in succession, that two or three struggled to arise, but instead of them, another horn came. It is arbitrary to make the text, which speaks of ten kings, speak of seven or eight kings and a pair of pretenders to the crown, and while the text speaks of the rooting out—the humiliation of the kings—to interpret this to mean the want of success of the pretenders. With regard to time, it is necessary, as Hitzig mentions emphatically, that the three kings, humbled by the eleventh, be cotemporaries of his and of each other. But if so, it follows that the seven also existed cotemporaneously with him, and with the others, for they are mentioned together, forming the number ten, without any distinctions being made of time. Wherever chronological succession is meant, it is always distinctly mentioned in the case of the horns; for example, in the case of the eleventh horn, viii. 3, 8, 9. It is therefore altogether arbitrary to assume, that of the ten the first seven are successive, and the last three cotemporaneous.

II. If we compare the second chapter, we shall see how utterly destitute of foundation the reference of the ten horns to Syrian kings and pretenders is. We find there only the ten toes mentioned, which evidently correspond to the ten horns, hence ten kings. There is not a word about an eleventh king, or a difference between the first seven and the last three. How can this be explained? Is the dream of Nebuchadnezzar to conclude with Heliodorus or with Demetrius? What a series we would then have! But the modern interpretation is beset with even greater difficulties. *Hitzig* understands “by the iron Syria, by the clay

Egypt," "of the toes, some are of iron, and refer to Syria; some consist entirely of clay, and refer to Egypt" (p. 35). What a violent contradiction, that the same number ten, which refers, in the seventh chapter, to Syrian kings, is explained in the second to mean Egyptian and Syrian. What Syrian and Egyptian kings? The enumeration is not given for wise reasons. Neither *Von Lengerke* (p. 95) nor *Hitzig* (p. 35) attempt to give a fuller interpretation of the toes, and mask their difficulty under a few general vague remarks concerning Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, etc. But we need not point out that the incapability of giving a minute interpretation is an essential defect in a view, which refers the prophecy to an event belonging to the past and the annals of history. While, on the other hand, it is in the nature of the case, that special and minute explanations cannot be given if prophecy is viewed as yet unfulfilled.

III. We are told distinctly in the eighth chapter, and in connection with the very monarchy which is of most importance here, the Greek, that we are to understand by the horns, not individual kings, but kingdoms, and, unless the text states the contrary, kingdoms existing coterminously. A comparison of vii. 17, with verse 23, will show of itself that kings are representatives of their kingdoms, and as the fourth beast is called in the one passage a king, in the other a kingdom, so the מלכין in vii. 24, are explained simply by מלכויות viii. 22. The symbolism of beasts in the seventh and eighth chapters never designates individual kings as such, as we have observed before, with the exception of the founders of monarchy, Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, as well as Antiochus and Antichrist, in all of whom we see representatives of characteristic tendencies. Hence, it is impossible to understand by the four horns of the eighth chapter, four kingdoms succeeding that of Alexander, and by the ten horns in the seventh chapter, ten individual kings who came after him; to understand in the one passage four kingdoms, existing coterminously, and the other, ten kings succeeding

each other. Such an interpretation violates the exegetical law of analogical treatment of the text.

But it is, altogether impossible to understand by the fourth beast, as well as the he-goat, the whole kingdom of Alexander and of his successors, as it is from the moment the horns are introduced, to limit it to but one part of his kingdom, the Syrian. The most violent method of all, viz., suddenly narrowing in the Greek kingdom, is that pursued by Hitzig, who enumerates Alexander as the first Syrian king, as the first of the ten horns. But this certainly surpasses all the arbitrariness ever perpetrated by criticism, especially if we bear in mind chapter viii. The same Alexander, who is opposed here as the great horn to the other four, consequently to all the kingdoms of his successors, of which Syria is only a fourth part, is, according to Hitzig, enumerated in the seventh chapter, on a level with Heliodorus and Demetrius, without any distinction or difference. Thus, there is infinitely less importance attached to him in the one chapter than in the other. I confess I sometimes wonder how our modern critics have the courage to print their expositions for readers who are capable of thinking. The only explanation is in the Rationalistic prejudice, which starts with the *a priori* certainty, that prophecy does not extend beyond Antiochus, a theory which must be maintained at any cost, and that they reckon on the patience of readers who do not look for an impartial consideration of the text in a Commentary on Daniel, but merely wish to see their preconceived ideas and opinions put into the book.

The prophet's idea here is simply this : The four horns of the he-goat are the four parts into which the Greek kingdom is divided. The ten horns of the fourth beast, therefore, can only refer to the ten parts into which the fourth part is divided. But from this it is evident, that the fourth kingdom cannot be the Greek, as it cannot be divided both into four and into ten parts.

Finally, the ten horns in the Apocalypse (chap. xiii. 1 ; xvii. 3, 12) likewise represent kings, still future. Now it were, indeed, possible, that the ten Syrian kings, if such ever existed,

would stand as types of kings of the last time, as Antiochus is a type of antichrist. But the Apocalypse makes a special addition, as if on purpose to render all reference to the past impossible. The ten horns are ten kings, οἱ τινες βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἔλαβον, which have received no kingdom as yet, chap. xvii. 12. We see, that John considered that the ten kings had not yet appeared, up to his time. He who attaches authority to the self-interpretation of divine prophecy, will find in this an additional reason of the impossibility of referring the ten horns of the fourth beast to the Syrian kings.

This overthrows the whole modern view of the fourth beast, and of the four beasts in general; it overthrows, hereby, secondly, the theory, that the prophecies of Daniel are limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and it overthrows, consequently, thirdly, the chief argument brought forward against the genuineness of our book.

IV. POSITIVE. THE BIBLICAL PROPHETICAL VIEW OF HISTORY.

We have now solved one part of our problem, by proving from the sacred text itself, the impossibility of the modern Rationalistic critical view of the book of Daniel. Questions of criticism, however, though important, are only preliminary; the chief thing is the inward living spiritual understanding of the divine word. We hope that our polemical remarks have contributed towards this chief object, although it can only have been incidentally. Before we bring our remarks on Daniel to a close, we will offer, resting from the warfare of polemics, some positive observations, on the wonderful visions of the second and seventh chapters, in connection with points not prominently dwelt upon by commentators, and with a view to introduce and prepare for the consideration of corresponding passages in the Revelation of St John.

We shall speak first of the four kingdoms of the world and their succession as a whole; and afterwards more especially of

the fourth, since it presents the greatest difficulties, and also the deepest interest, for it reaches even into our present and our own future, while the three first belong to the distant past. In our consideration of these points, we will attain to some general views, which will prove important for the interpretation of prophecy, as also the biblical prophetic mode of conceiving history and time.

I. THE FOUR KINGDOMS OF THE WORLD.

In the general characteristic of the dream-vision, described in the second chapter of Daniel, which we gave in our first section, it was necessary for us to point out, that the antithesis between the divine and the human mode of conceiving history is developed here throughout, in all its details.

This appears from the value attached to the world-power. To outward appearance, it is splendid, and strong as gold, silver, iron, etc., but in truth it is like chaff. This appears, moreover, in the way in which the single kingdoms, in their succession, are characterised, by the metals and by the parts of the body chosen. For there is evidently a progressive decrease in the value of the metals, gold, silver, brass, iron, clay; and in like manner in the body of the image there is a gradation from a more important position and value of the parts to a less: head; breast and arms; belly and thighs; legs and feet. It cannot be denied, that those two features, when combined, are intended to indicate the progressive deterioration of the world-power, and in ver. 39 it is expressly stated, of the second monarchy, as an index for the rest, that it was less than the first. This cannot be referred to the decrease of outward power, as is manifest from the circumstance, that the fourth kingdom is represented, both in the second and seventh chapter, as the most powerful one (ii. 40; vii. 7, 19, and 23); and commentators, not seeing this, and starting with the supposition, that the Persian kingdom was, properly speaking, greater and mightier than the Babylonian, have found difficulties here, which they have endeavoured to

overcome, partly by artificial expedients.¹ The decrease is not so much in external power, as in internal worth and solidity. Holy Scripture, surveying from its eminence the course of the development of the world, speaks of a progress, not in advance, but towards decay, even as whole nations have, like individuals, their times of increase and decrease.

Nor is this view confined to Daniel, but it lies at the foundation of the whole divine word of the Old and New Testaments, especially of all that Scripture says of the beginning and end of the human race. The commencement of man's development, according to Holy Scripture, is formed by a paradisaical, a golden age, such as has never been attained since. Sin is a poison, which spreads gradually, during the course of centuries, and penetrates ever deeper into the organism of natural humanity, decomposing and destroying it. Not that gross darkness and clear light appear at once fully and perfectly developed; but here, likewise, the Bible reveals to us an organic process, a gradual development from the one point to the other, as has been noticed previously, from the fall of Adam to the coming of antichrist. We have but few hints as to the state of the world before the flood, but most Bible students are agreed in this, that we must conceive there was then a mightier, more vigorous, and higher life, than in the postdiluvian time, the term of human life is of itself an indication of it. After the flood, the building of the tower of Babel forms an epoch from which men fell ever deeper into disunion, corruption, and heathenism. In this Babel, Nimrod, the hunter (the revolter), founds the first kingdom of the world (Gen. x. 8-13). From this epoch Holy Scripture leaves the human race in general to its own paths, and confines itself to the covenant people. We see the result of this separate development in Daniel, who brings us back to the same Babylon; his Babylonian world-power takes up, as it were, the thread interrupted at the building of the tower and the kingdom of Nimrod. In the former event, all

¹ Hengstenberg on Daniel, p. 164. T. and T. Clark.

humanity then living united in opposition to God. With the Babylonian kingdom begins the time of the universal monarchies, and these likewise strive after a God-opposed union of the whole human race. Babylon thus became, and appears also thus in the Revelations of St John, the constant type of the God-opposed world. Our prophecy shows us the gradual development of the power of the world into evil, beginning with the Babylonian kingdom, till it reaches its full manifestation in the God-opposed antichrist. Thus we notice a progressive descent from paradise to judgment. The manner in which the Bible describes the result of human development is in essential agreement with this, as also the final state, which is to conclude the history of the world. Scripture describes it as a state of apostasy, impenitence, false security, godlessness, which must necessarily draw down judgment from on high (Matt. xxiv. 37-39; Luke xviii. 8; 1 Thess. v. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Peter iii. 3; Rev. ix. 20, xvi. 9-11). The very fact, that the history of the world ends with judgment on the world, points out the fundamental view which the Bible takes of the history of humanity.

At first sight, this view does not seem to be a point of a strictly religious character, and even honest Christians think they may here adopt the current views of the day. But a closer and more thoughtful examination shows, that if we wish to think according to Scripture, to be cast altogether in the mould of God's thoughts, we must look this question earnestly in the face, especially in our days, when the answer given to it will powerfully influence, not only our whole view of history, but our life and practice. It is not a matter of indifference, whether the thinking Christian view nature as dead or as living, and capable of miracles, and in the same way his philosophy of history is important. For Nature, History, and Revelation, are the three great kingdoms of the divine Development of Life, and the last and highest necessarily presupposes the other two. The Bible has its own philosophy of nature and of history; to understand the latter is of utmost importance for the study of the

book of Daniel, which contains the outlines of that philosophy of history.

In former times, this was acknowledged, at least externally, but in modern times it is denied, both inwardly and outwardly. "Daniel," *Baumgarten* says in his *Apostolic History*, vol. ii., p. 172 (Eng. Trans.), "has made known to us the epochs and eras of nations as they are arranged and fore-ordained by God, both collectively and individually, and has thereby fixed the whole view of decisive turning points in the history of the development of the human race (Acts xvii. 26), as connected with the history of revelation. The Christian view of the world originally adopted that conception of universal history which was therein hinted at. The apprehension and delineation of the history of the world, on the *scheme of the four universal empires* prevailed in Germany down to Gatterer. Since, however, this theory, by slavish and merely mechanical adherence to the scheme derived from the book of Daniel, did not allow free scope and full justice to the manifoldness and realities of the relations of the world and of nations, the time arrived for an emancipation from such a pupilage under sacred authority. Historical investigation entered upon the discovery, and a representation of particular branches in such wise as totally to forget the unity and progression of universal history. Certain it is, that this tendency to investigate detail rendered material service, and is still doing so, and that thereby a foundation, previously wanting, is being laid for a complete conception of history. Nevertheless, to find satisfaction in these separate treatises of history, is only possible so long as the feeling of novelty is still fresh. That historical investigation and conception of history, which originally started from the impulse of the Christian view of the world, must invariably come back to the search after a totality, such as St Paul presented to the minds of the Athenians. And this return from the tendency to isolated studies to the investigation of the whole, has already taken place, but much remains yet to be done. . . .

Johannes von Müller, guided by his biblical studies and theo-

logical reminiscences, has cast many a profound glance into the inner meaning of historical events, and, occasionally, he rises to thoughts of a character truly befitting universal history; but in the main, in his view of the total development of history, he remained a disciple of Gatterer and Schlözer. That a profound truth is involved in that view of history, which makes the people of God the centre of all movement and development, *Barthold Niebuhr* divined, but from a respect to such a view to the adoption of it, and the introduction of it into practical application, there is naturally a great step to be taken. Lastly, it was the immediate object of *Heinrich Leo* to make a real beginning on that path of development, which has here been marked out. . . . And yet he was unable to see anything more than "a good tact" in that division of universal history into the four periods of the great empire. . . . At present universal history has not got beyond the position taken up by *Herodotus*, for although it does overlook a more extensive field, and recognises higher aims, still the sphere of vision remains all the while limited by national and individual considerations. It is, therefore, quite consistent, that *Herodotus* should be designated the father of history, whereas, in truth, it was not *Herodotus*, but *Moses*, who was the first to sketch the true ground lines of universal history." But what has not been accomplished by historians, philosophy attempted to do, and has thereby exercised a considerable influence, but in a spirit not only independent of the disclosures of Daniel and the prophetic word, but directly opposed to the divine Scriptures. The current philosophy of history, as it is developed systematically, for instance, by *Hegel*, and forms the foundation of modern thought and historiography, views the development of man as having taken place from a lower to a higher state; presupposing, as the beginning, a half-animal rude state of nature, and placing, as the goal or termination, general civilisation, liberty, humanism. How must such men regard Daniel, who represents the Oriental kingdoms as the representatives of classic civilisation? They

must deem it a hard saying, when he places our age with its culture and science far below them, under the fourth kingdom, and towards the end of it, when the mystery of iniquity (2 Thess. ii. 7), of the God-opposed beast-nature, is beginning to unfold itself with ever-increasing vigour.

But what shall we say? Do not the Greeks and Romans stand higher than the Oriental nations? And the Christian nations higher than either? With regard to the Christian nations, we shall have to consider them more minutely, when speaking of the fourth monarchy and the Revelation of St John. The question cannot be answered, without further explanation, in the negative. Nay, in a certain sense, we cannot but give unhesitatingly an affirmative answer. But it all depends on the point of view from which we consider the subject. The modern view starts from the antithesis of nature and spirit, and since spirit, according to that view, means essentially only the spirit of *man*, this antithesis is identical with that of nature and civilisation. Also Holy Scripture, we may say, reduces the whole development of the world to the antithesis of nature and spirit, but in a different sense. And this is, truly, one of the chief evils of our time, that words representing fundamental ideas, as "spirit," "light," etc., are now-a-days used in quite a different sense from what they bear in the word of God. False prophets come to us in sheep's clothing, and are thus in appearance like the Lamb (Matt. vii. 15; Rev. xiii. 11); hence arises that energetic, effective power with which error is possessed, making people believe a lie (2 Thess. ii. 11). Holy Scripture—mark the characteristic difference!—says not nature and spirit, but spirit and *flesh*. The antithesis to nature is not civilisation, but divine grace. The whole movement of history, from a state of nature to a state of civilisation, falls, according to the biblical view, within the sphere of the flesh, the life of unrenewed, natural humanity (Col. iii. 11). Spirit, in the Bible, is not the mere human spirit, but the Spirit of God from on high, the gift of grace descending from a supernatural world. This Spirit

effects something greater than a mere life of civilisation and humanism, which is only refined, formed, but not *transformed*, and hence life of the flesh. *He* works essential Spirit-life, a pneumatic life, from and in God, which belongs not to this world, and which, in its highest form, is life of transfiguration, life of resurrection in the glory of a spiritual body. Transformation, which the Bible speaks of (Rom. viii. 17-24) is essentially different from culture. And because the Bible, from its lofty watch-tower, keeps continually in view these final culminating points of the eternal plan of God (1 Cor. iv. 7-10; Ephes. i. 9, 10), its estimation of our development of civilisation differs from that which the children of men form, who cleave to the dust, and of whom it is said, "He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth" (John iii. 31). Herein consists the gigantic lie and little narrow-mindedness of our generation, that civilisation is thought to be the highest thing, and is looked upon as a substitute for grace, for regeneration by the Spirit of the living God. Civilisation is the idol of the modern world. Concerning it the voice of Scripture says: "Behold, is it not of the Lord of Hosts, what the peoples have laboured must be burned with fire, and for what the nations have wearied themselves must perish! For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea (Habakkuk ii. 13, 14; comp. Matt. xiii. 44-46). What Daniel represents in his four world-kingdoms, is in reality nothing else but the development from a state of nature to a state of refined civilisation, from a natural, vigorous, solid mode of existence to a life of refinement and intellectualism; which latter he represents more especially by the symbol of the wise eye of antichrist (Dan. vii. 8). To use an expression of *J. P. Lange* (Apostol. Zeitalter i. 206), the prophet describes to us the kingdoms of the world and the civilisations of the world. The first metals—gold and silver—are nobler, more valuable; but the latter—brass and iron—are infinitely more important to the cause of civilisation and culture, yea, they are the proper representatives and bearers of it; with

the artificers in brass and iron commenced the first development of human civilisation (Gen. iv. 22). And, finally, clay, which is the most flexible and plastic material, represents the Germanic element. Thus, Scripture acknowledges the correctness of the modern principle of viewing history, and likewise regards the development of humanity as a progression from nature to culture. How could it be otherwise in those cases where Scripture speaks of the history of kingdoms and states of the world, that is, of the history of the world in general? The life of the world, as it manifests itself in states and kingdoms, the life of the world-history is civilisation. The state, civilisation, history, are ideas intimately connected with each other. Only such nations as are organized in kingdoms of some constitution and order, are historical nations; and, moreover, for this very reason, that having left the rude state of nature, they have begun a life of civilisation. Hence the development of the world-kingdoms is the development of civilisation, and the prophet, therefore, describes the latter.

But observe, the prophet, in harmony with the whole word of God, judges and estimates this development in a manner diametrically opposed to the prevalent one. Scripture nowhere denies that the Greeks stand higher than the Persians or Babylonians, and the modern nations higher than those of antiquity, *that is as regards culture*; but Scripture does deny, that this position is in reality a higher one, that it is a progress in that which really and properly is the essence and destination of man, genuine, eternal humanity; that humanity, which manifests itself in the Son of Man, contrasted with the four beasts. What constitutes man is his being in the image of God, and his living in communion with God; the true Son of Man can only come from heaven (Dan. vii. 13). But it is an undeniable fact of history, that as civilisation progresses, it leads man further away from communion with God. It enlarges the world-consciousness and self-consciousness of man; and since these, from the time of sin entering the world, are opposed to the consciousness of God, as lust of the

world and love of self,—this, likewise, is only an historical fact—this enlargement of the world—and self-consciousness is mostly accompanied by a weakening and decrease of the consciousness of God. As we said before, people now-a-days put civilisation in the place of divine grace; culture drives away the “life in God;” thinking that it can render it superfluous; and as it is now in the end of days, so it was in the beginning. It is a significant fact, that the beginnings of civilisation were among the children of Cain (Gen. iv. 17–24), even then the children of this world were wiser in their generation than the children of light (Luke xvi. 8). Thus, alienation from God drives man to worldly culture, as our previous remarks showed the reverse to be the case, they exert on each other reciprocal influence;¹ not that civilisation, *per se*, is a thing evil or sinful; it is necessary, and permitted and willed by God for our actual sinful state, even, in like manner, as the bearer of civilisation—the state—it also may be sanctified in the service of God’s kingdom. But while the children of light live in God, and have their life in the world without setting their affections on the things below, because they know that the fashion of this world passeth away, and that God alone has eternal life (1 Cor. vii. 31); the blessings of civilisation belonging to those “other things” which are added to them, since godliness has both the promise of this life and that which is to come, and because all things are theirs (Matt. vi. 33; 1 Cor. iii. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 8); the children of the world, on the other hand, live altogether in the world of sense, endeavouring to take the greatest amount of pleasure and advantage

¹ *Delitzsch*, in his remarks on Gen. iv. 17: “The observation suggested by this most ancient historical beginning, that civilisation increases in extensiveness and refinement, in proportion as man progresses in his estrangement from God, is corroborated by universal history.” Compare with this *Nitzsch* (System of Christian Doctrine (English Trans.), sec. 115), who emphasizes the converse truth: “The view, according to which a still greater deterioration is to be expected, rather than an improvement, from every species of civilisation, which is based merely on the excitement and co-operation of the natural powers possessed by the Adamitic race, is true and correct.”

from the outward, visible, temporal objects. Thus, they strive to attain to a truly human God-like existence working from below upwards, while the children of God attain the same object, beginning, on the contrary, from above. The world, whether consciously or unconsciously, strives to become like God, not by a spiritual renewal from on high, and sanctification by God's Spirit, but by a cultivation and development of the natural gifts and endowments of man, which is essentially only a repetition of the fundamental principle announced by the serpent in paradise: Man is to attain of himself, without God's assistance, and in opposition to God, to the highest knowledge (intellectual civilisation), and thereby to being like God (Gen. iii. 5). This principle found its colossal manifestation in the Tower of Babel, which, viewed from this point, appears in a new aspect, a work of human art, which was to reach from earth to heaven, and which forms the commencement of heathenism. The same principle began from that time to develop itself in the nations and states, that were now left to themselves, in the world-kingsdoms, concerning which Daniel prophesies, and which are generally designated the nations of civilisation (*Culturvölker*), in contradistinction to the people of Israel, the nation of religion. This development of natural humanity and its gifts, has found its artistic "transfiguration" of the flesh (the progression of humanity from below upwards), chiefly and pre-eminently in Greece. For this reason, the Greeks appear in the New Testament as representatives of heathen civilisation (Rom. i. 14-16; 1 Cor. i. 22-24), and more generally as representatives of heathenism as opposed to Judaism. Herein, also, seek the reason why our modern culture is so much attracted by Hellenism, which is often idealized, and that erroneously, while, on the other side, Israelis looked upon with antipathy, the law and the prophets treated with neglect. And, moreover, this accounts also for the fact, that the first great enemy of the kingdom of God, described in the eighth and eleventh chapters of Daniel, proceeded from the Greek kingdom. Antiochus Epiphanes, that fanatical ad-

mirer of Hellenic civilisation,¹ wished to place Zeus Olympios in place of Jehovah ; and thus arose the first conflict between the two grand universal historical principles, between heathen civilisation, which is from below, and revealed religion, which is from above. And as Hellenic civilisation produced the *first*, so modern heathen civilisation will produce the second, more general, more God-opposed antichrist. Very significant is his name, Antichristus, for, to use again *Baumgarten's* expressions, Apos. Hist. i. 305,² " To this horn are assigned eyes, as the eyes of a man, and a speaking mouth, therefore a mouth also resembling that of a man. These points of resemblance to a man in a symbol, which is throughout brutish (ver. 7), and which, even by this brutal-like character, is designed to represent the internal character of this empire of the world, are so much the more important, as the empire which is opposed to it is described as the empire of man (Dan. vii. 13, 18, 22). Accordingly, this horn, with the eyes and the mouth of a man, intimates, that this fourth empire will assume such a form as that, without losing its peculiar character, it will work itself under the guise of a kingdom of God." Antichrist promises the very same things which Christ brings His people, only in a way quite the opposite, *without cross* ; this is the delusion and charm by which, as we are told in the Apocalypse of John, he seduces nations and kings. He promises transfiguration of the flesh without crucifixion of the flesh ; transfiguration of the world, without judgment of the world. He is a Christ without cross, and, therefore, in everything a caricature of Christ, the anti-messiah, the pseudo-son of man ; even as the apotheosis of man is nothing but a caricature of man's being created in the image of God. He promises man, a truly human, God-like existence, "heaven"

¹ He possessed an extraordinary love of art, which expressed itself in grand architectural undertakings, especially temples ; and his devotion to heathen worship was fanatical. *Wieseler*, in *Herzog's Realencyclopädie*, i. 384.

² I. 340, English Translation. T. and T. Clark.

upon earth, the millennium.¹ But flesh and world have to be *judged*, because the curse is resting on them, and if the judgment of God is not accepted, and man does not surrender himself into Christ's death, then God sends eternal judgment, with its terrors. It is the same crucified Saviour who appears then as Lord of lords and King of kings; and behold the splendour of this world is as chaff which the wind scattereth away from the face of the earth; then shall the millennial kingdom really commence (Matt. xvi. 27).

From this point of view, it is clear that, and in what manner, our prophecy places the ancient kingdoms of the world over the modern, those of the East over those of the West. In outward civilisation, refinement, and embellishment of life; in political institutions, arts, sciences, inventions, there is doubtless an immense progression. But there is indeed something much higher than these goods of life, something which, according to Holy Scripture, though not according to the views of modern times, is the chief thing, and of which experience as well as history proclaims distinctly enough, that it is in truth the invisible, vital root of nations and kingdoms, as it is also of individuals. This is the original, tender, mysterious connection between man and God in the conscience "*Pietas*," the natural, almost instinctive reverence for the divine fundamental institutions of life. "*Righteousness exalteth a nation*" (Prov. xiv. 34, 37; comp. xvi. 12; Isaiah xxxii. 15-17; Jer. xxii. 3-5). This righteousness shows itself principally in man's reverence for things sacred, in obedience of subjects to rulers, in respect of children towards parents. These are the fundamental

¹ Can it be denied, that the political, socialistic, and communistic tendencies of modern times—these monstrous births of the coming anti-christianity—are impregnated with the grossest Chiliasm?" *Martensen*, Dogmatic 553. Comp. *The Door of Hope for Britain and Christendom*; London, 1854: "The world is at present full of false Christs, though people little imagine it. But the worst of all false Christs are they who promise man deliverance from curse, without confession and hatred of sin, which is the mother and cause of the curse resting on humanity."

pillars of man's life ; upon these religion, the family, the state, are built. They are the essential powers which render a social state possible. They are, so to say, the merciful gifts of creation, given to man by God, irrespective of revelation, or any particular religion, given by God, or rather left by him to man, in order to render an organised existence and development possible. Let these essential fundamentals of natural religion and morality be shaken or destroyed, and all arts and sciences will be found un-availing ; the most refined civilisation will prove ineffective to save such a nation, as is clearly proved by the times of decline of Greece and Rome, and the history of our own day. Nay, the highest blossom of civilisation is itself the beginning of the internal decay, because the essential fundamental relationships of life are criticised, analysed, and attacked by the enlightened generation. This is the tragic fate of humanity, living under the bondage and curse of sin. The further we go back into history, the more vigorous and healthy we find those original, natural fundamentals of life ; they must have been much stronger in the East than they are now in our western world. For example, it cannot well be denied that the Babylonian and Persian religions presuppose more real truthfulness, more sacred reverence of things divine, in the nations among whom they took rise, than the Hellenic, which is much richer and more beautifully developed ;¹ as little as it can be denied, that the more ancient Greeks and Romans were a much more vigorous, manly, pious generation than the highly civilized Greeks and Romans of the later centuries before the Christian era, during which the government of the world came into the hands of these nations. Man only sees what is outward, and forms his judgment from that ; but God,

¹ Compare, for example, *Thiersch*, die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter, p. 12. "The ascetic earnestness of the East had a deep insight into the moral antithesis in man, and the discord, which has entered into his whole life, an insight which was altogether wanting to the Greek world." *Nägelsbach*, der Gottmensch i., 128. In civilisation, there is a progress from a lower to a higher degree ; not so as regards natural gifts. As art increases, nature decreases ; this is the law of the development of human civilisation.

who weighs men and nations in the balance of eternity, beholds that hidden essential kernel of things, the heart (1 Sam. xvi. 7) ; hence, divine views and judgments are so different from those formed by us.

The prophecies of the seventh and eighth chapters offer some very characteristic views on this subject. With regard to the first monarchy, it is said, chap. vii. 4, that Nebuchadnezzar received a human heart, because he gave honour to the living God. For, without doubt, *Roos*, *Preiswerk*, *Hofmann*, and others, are right in referring the changes which are told of the lion to the narrative of the fourth chapter, about Nebuchadnezzar. The eagle wings of haughtiness, with which he soared so high, were taken from him ; he humbled himself before God, and thus was freed from the nature of the beast, and again elevated to the dignity of man.

While yet in his proud state, it was announced to him, chap. iv. 16, that his heart will be changed from man's, and a beast's heart be given him ; but when he repented, it is said of him, a man's heart is given him. Our whole chapter is based on the contrast between the nature of beast and man ; the God-opposed world power is bestial ; he who stands in communion with God is human. The "heart of man," of Nebuchadnezzar, forms a remarkable contrast (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 7, *Roos*, p. 146) to the human eyes of antichrist, the pseudo Son of Man, which, as we have seen above, are symbols of intellectual culture and of wisdom, while heart and mouth blaspheme God. How much higher, then, in a religious view, does the first monarch of the world stand than the last ! Though, of the second monarchy, the book does not mention so much good as of the first, yet it does not specify anything evil. Whereas the third monarchy produces an antichrist, and the fourth an antichrist even more violent.

A similar deterioration may be noticed in the external political development of the individual kingdoms. The first is as yet a whole, an organic unity ; the second begins to be divided into

the Median and Persian element (viii. 3) ; the third branches off into four, and the fourth into ten kingdoms.

Nor must we leave unnoticed the faithful and accurate manner with which prophecy has marked the grand world-historical difference of east and west, by connecting the two Oriental and the two Occidental kingdoms, characterising the former by nobler, the latter by baser metals. The system of division and individualisation is peculiar to the latter, and it is they who produce the two great enemies of the kingdom of God. All these phenomena are intimately connected with, and find their explanation in, the general principles we have developed above.

Finally, we would direct the reader's attention to a point which appears as a result from a comparison of individual prophecies among themselves, and with their fulfilment. We have seen that the events of history are measured differently by God and his word, than by our common mode of viewing history. What appears great, according to our view, is insignificant according to the other ; what is overlooked in profane history, what seems to be merely natural in the course of events, is regarded, on the other hand, as of decisive importance. This remark is suggested chiefly by Antiochus Epiphanes. He was one of the Syrian kings, and does not commence a period in history. In the same way, in Jewish history, the troublous time of sixty-two weeks was not characterized by any outward remarkable event ; the persecution, by Antiochus, followed naturally after the manifold sufferings and oppressions which the Jews had to endure, owing to the perpetual struggles between the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. And yet it was during this short period that the existence of God's kingdom was in more imminent peril than ever before ; and yet it is this period which, for the reason stated, is most emphatically and circumstantially foretold by prophecy. Thus we see that events of great importance in the kingdom of God may be prepared, and may take place in the ordinary, regular, historical course of things, without any remarkable or miraculous incidents. In this respect, likewise, Antiochus is a type

of antichrist. He, as the former, is originally a little horn, growing gradually till it is greater than all the rest (vii. 8, 20 ; viii. 19). Quite in correspondence with these intimations does the New Testament describe the time preceding Christ's advent. They eat, they drink ; they marry and give in marriage ; they buy and sell ; they build and plant ; the world goes its accustomed regular way. Wealth, trade, arts, culture in the highest bloom, nay, people expect even more prosperous times, and say, "Peace and safety" (Luke xvii. 26, 30 ; 1 Thess. v. 3), and although the most striking judgments are sent from on high, yet their eyes are blinded that they do not see them as judgments, and precursors of judgments to come, and do not repent (Rev. xvi. 9-11). Then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape. The day of the Lord is described in the New Testament under the ever recurring image of a thief in the night ; thus the Lord Jesus himself describes it ; in the same manner, Paul, Peter, John (Matt. xxiv. 43 ; 1 Thess. v. 2-4 ; 2 Pet. iii. 10 ; Rev. iii. 3, xvi. 15.) We saw above, Israel was a carcase, and dead, and judged, in the sight of God, decennia before the actual destruction of Jerusalem. The people itself, it is true, had a different estimate of their own state. It was during this period that false Messiah after false Messiah arose, that the poor deceived nation dreamed of a new political and religious revival ; of a regeneration of the people ; of the morning-red of a bright day ; a hope to which the zealots clung so tenaciously, that even seeing the flames of the temple, they did not relinquish it. Who knows but divine sentence is already passed upon our generation ?

Ross remarks (p. 32), " Bear in mind, that many things have a different shape, beginning, end, value, when viewed in the invisible world, and by God, from what they have among, and in the eyes of mortal men. Most distinctly can this be seen in the coming of Christ from the Father, and in His going again to the Father. Only faith perceives the transcendent importance of every work and act of suffering in the life of the Saviour ;

the natural eye of man was not capable of seeing it. But there are other works of God, which occur in such a manner, that their dignity, beginning, and end, can only be discerned by the Spirit, who knows all things. For example, who would have thought that the wanderings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were of greater importance than the wars and lives of a Sesostris or a Semiramis? And yet Holy Scripture describes the former, and not the latter. The subjection of Jehoiakim to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. i. 1) seemed something unimportant, and would have been so, if it had been only of short duration. But now we see it as the commencement of the captivity of God's people. Often the divine deliverance has a small beginning, nay, it is often imperceptible to the eye of man, but well known to God. A scaffolding of the devil falls to the ground; the first beginnings of its decline were unobserved, but even then the fall commenced. If special Satanic powers assist human wickedness, it is observed by very few men, and yet this circumstance is grand and essential. Therefore let us not expect too much from our knowledge of the history of the world. We can see from it the fulfilment of prophecy, but at the same time not so clearly and accurately as the day that will reveal all things shall show it. It is prophecy which throws light on history; human accounts of history, compared with God's history, are very imperfect, shallow, and vain."

And further, the same author says, p. 213, "As there is a typical resemblance between the Greek and the Roman antichrist, let us mark attentively, for our own warning, and that of our children, what were the sins and transgressions in Israel, which gave rise to the Greek antichrist, and his tyranny and fury. And it was this: that some Jews began to adopt the manners and customs of the heathens (1 Macc. i. 12-14). They erected in Jerusalem heathenish theatres—houses in which voluptuous and entertaining plays and gymnastics were performed, which attracted much people. And there were priests, who neglected the sacrifice and the temple, but went into the

theatres to see the spectacles and exercises there exhibited (2 Macc. iv. 19). Moreover, there were Jews who apostatised from the covenant, gave up circumcision, lived as heathens, and fell into all kinds of gross and shameful vices. Nor must it be imagined, that all such people divested themselves of the outward forms of religion ; for some of them belonged to the priesthood, or were otherwise connected with the temple service. Menelaus and Jason were high priests ; Simon an officer of the temple ; others were common priests. These people had learned from Greek philosophy, that all religions were good enough to keep the mass in check, and that the Supreme Being did not require of us circumcision, or acts and ceremonies of that kind. They sacrificed at Jerusalem, because such was custom, and respectable ; but they sent also money to bring sacrifices to Hercules, in order to gain the king's favour (2 Macc. iv. 19). I dare say, they believed, neither in Jehovah nor in Hercules ; a king who would give them earthly prosperity was their God. Probably they believed neither in angels, a spiritual world, resurrection, or judgment after death. The theories of Greek philosophy accorded well with their profligate life, and were afterwards propagated by the Sadducees. These strong spirits were opposed to the pious Jews, who were looked upon as a separate sect, and called the Pious (2 Macc. xiv. 6). They were also unfaithful to each other, as, for instance, Menelaus, who forced himself into the place of the high priest, Jason (iv. 24). They both purchased the dignity of high priest with money ; and the treasures of the temple were sent by Menelaus to the king. The commonplace class of the Jews, who had not sufficient cleverness to become altogether *forts esprits*, joined the party of Menelaus, or Jason, or the king himself and his heroes, and boasted that they were adherents of these wise men and great heroes, and had learned from them, that the temple in Jerusalem was not more sacred than any other place, and that one religion was as good as another.

Behold, this was the state of Israel, when Antiochus, the

Greek antichrist, came and raged. Let this serve as a mirror to the world of to-day."

II. THE FOURTH KINGDOM OF THE WORLD, AND ITS RELATION TO THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM..

We must first examine the views of those commentators who agree with us in the general interpretation, that the fourth kingdom is that of the Romans. As this view is commonly represented in modern times, especially by Hengstenberg and Hävernick, we can only consider it as correct and exhaustive as far as the beginning of the kingdom is concerned, but not as regards the terminating conclusion. The chief point, which it is necessary to recognise distinctly and to express simply, is, that the commencement of the kingdom, spoken of in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel, is nothing else but the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we are still awaiting, to found His so-called millennial kingdom on earth. This is evident from the following considerations:—

1. The commencement of the kingdom is to be preceded by judgment on antichrist (chap. vii.) But antichrist is yet to come.

2. The kingdom is described in both chapters as a kingdom of glory and dominion; whereas hitherto the kingdom of God on earth, as we all know, has been a *regnum crucis*.

3. By the "people of the saints of the Most High," to whom dominion is then to be given (Dan. vii. 18–27), Daniel evidently could only understand the people of Israel, as distinguished from the heathen nations and kingdoms, which were to rule up till then (ii. 44); nor have we, according to strict exegesis, a right to apply the expression to any other nations; hence we cannot apply it immediately to the church. In this point *Roos* (280), *Preiswerk*, *Hofmann*, agree with *Hitzig*, *Bertholdt*, and others. The prophet's words refer to the re-establishment of the king-

dom of Israel, concerning which the disciples asked our Saviour immediately before his ascension; and our Lord, though refusing to reveal to them the date or chronology, did in no way negative the subject matter of the question, and thereby confirmed it (Acts i. 6, 7). We shall resume this point in our subsequent discussion. This promise, then, has not yet been fulfilled to Israel, and awaits its fulfilment in the millennium. If the prophecy of the ninth chapter, in which Christ is described as the suffering Messiah, is compared with the second and seventh chapters, it will be seen, that the latter chapters do not refer to the first coming of Christ, which they suppose to be long past, but that they describe the Messiah as King of kings and Lord of lords, who overcomes the beast with its ten kings (Rev. xvii. 12-14, xix. 16), so that then it can be said with full truth, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xi. 15).

Luther's interpretation, according to which our chapters refer to Christ's last appearance to judgment (which may seem suggested by vii. 9, 10), is as decidedly wrong as *Calvin's* view, which refers them to Christ's first advent. In this we agree with *Roos*, who says, pp. 176, 178, "The judgment from heaven, described vii. 9, is connected with the end of the four universal monarchies, and the destruction of antichrist. This alone suffices to show, that the judgment here spoken of is not the last judgment; for at the last judgment there will be neither beast, nor kingdom, nor antichrist upon earth, but heaven and earth will then have passed away."

The parallel passage in Revelation decides the question. *Kurtz* (Lehrbuch der heil. Geschichte, 4 Auf., p. 271, 279), following older commentators,¹ places antichrist after the millennium; but this is erroneous. Gog and Magog are not to be confused with antichrist and the beast. It cannot be objected,

¹ Comp. Bengel erklärte Offenb. neue Ausgabe. Stuttgart, 1834. Pp. 663, etc.

that since the kingdom is called, in ii. 44, vii. 27, an eternal kingdom, which cannot be destroyed, it cannot be referred to the kingdom of a thousand years. Daniel saw the whole time of perfection collectively as one period; while by the clearer light of New Testament prophecy we are able to distinguish in that period the kingdom of the millennium and the time of the new heaven and the new earth. As *Roos* strikingly remarks (184), "The dominion of the Lord Christ is eternal, and His kingdom as such cannot be destroyed. No power of this world can destroy it. Not even the last judgment shall put an end to it, but only give it a new and more glorious appearance; for after the last judgment, the New Jerusalem shall come down from heaven, and the throne of God and the Lamb will be in the midst of it."

Now, if the kingdom of the Messiah, spoken of in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel, is that of the millennium, and consequently still in the future, then it follows necessarily, that the fourth kingdom, as we have already seen, is existing at present, and includes all developments of Christian world-history, comprehending, therefore, not merely the old Roman empire, but also the history of those nations who were brought into connection with it by the migration of nations. *Roos* saw all this with perfect clearness; not so *Hengstenberg* and his followers. Though they have to acknowledge, on the one hand, that the "ten kings" and antichrist are yet future (*Beiträge*, 211, *Hävernick Commentary*, 241; *Reichel*, loc. cit., 959), yet they always speak of the kingdom of the Messiah as having come already. *Hengstenberg* (p. 212) understands by it, "The spiritual kingdom of God, viewed however in conjunction with its future visible manifestation at the end of time;" but he distinctly cautions the reader not to "confuse this visible manifestation with the millennium." According to *Hävernick* (561), the object of the second and seventh chapters of Daniel is simply "to give some general views of the life and character of the ancient world (p. 560), as contradistinguished from the newly beginning

economy, the Church." *Reichel* says (p. 961), "The kingdom of Christ overcomes the Roman empire with its spiritual weapons;" and therefore he represents the image of the monarchies "*gradually*" destroyed by the stone, which is directly opposed to the express words of the text, since it says, ii. 35, then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces *together*, thus excluding the idea of a contemporaneous existence of the kingdom of the world and the kingdom of God. These specimens may suffice to show, that the text is treated in an unsatisfactory manner; and one need only read the last page of *Hävernicks* Commentary (p. 569), to see how uncertain, obscure, and confused the views are, which commentators of this stand-point have on this eschatological question. What is wanting to *Hengstenberg* and his school is, as we shall have frequent opportunity of showing, a scriptural Chiliasm, without which, it becomes clearer every day, prophetic theology is only a mutilated torso.¹

We now come to consider those commentators with whom we agree in the main view concerning the character and time of the Messianic kingdom. Here we have to point out a misconception. Some find in the fourth monarchy also a prophecy of the Papacy. This view was naturally suggested by the fact, that the Papacy is likewise Roman. It arises, however, like the view refuted above, from an unwillingness to admit that Christianity and the church are not at all mentioned prior to the

¹ Compare *Delitzsch*, die biblisch prophetische Theologie, p. 181-189. The author characterises it as an essential progress in prophetic theology, made during the last century, by Bengel and his school (*Crusius*, *Roos*, *Öttinger*, and others), and in the present by *Hofmann*, *Baumgarten*, etc., that the following three ideas are recognised in their intimate connection:—1. Israel in prophecy is not merely a type of the church; 2. That Israel has yet a future; and 3. That before the last judgment there shall be a time of a glorious kingdom of God.

Roos says (*Fuss-Stapfen*, ii. 397), "The prophets speak frequently, and the apostles still more frequently, of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. He that has no knowledge of this kingdom, understands neither the Old nor the New Testament."

millennium, and from a desire to find some intimations concerning the church before the millennium, in the prophecies of Daniel. This may be designated as the English and French view. *Gaussen* (i. 174, etc.) refers the clay in the second chapter to Popery; as *Preiswerk* (*Morgenland*, 1838, p. 46) the little horn, in the seventh. Many objections may be brought against these opinions; but we limit ourselves to directing the reader's attention to the most important point, viz., that the Papacy, with all its worldliness, can never be represented as a product of the political world-powers, as such, but must surely be viewed as a church become worldly. But Daniel, the statesman of Israel, did not prophecy concerning the *church*; it was to John that revelations concerning her were vouchsafed. This question will therefore be resumed again in our remarks on the Revelations, especially on the Babylonian harlot, which will, we trust, contain the simplest refutation of the above views of Daniel.

After these preliminaries, we now proceed to a more minute, positive consideration of the fourth kingdom. Its national and political component parts are delineated in chap. ii., in a manner which has become normative for all subsequent views of history: first, the old Roman universal monarchy, in its solid iron character (ver. 40), then the plastic material of the Germanic and Slavonic tribes, through the migration of nations mixed with the Roman iron, and finally the division of this Roman-Germanic empire into smaller kingdoms, which in the final period will terminate in *ten* kingdoms—these are the grand outlines of history, as the table of contents in any modern manual of history shows us. Notice also the wonderful truth of this revelation, in regarding this development of two thousand years, embracing elements so different, as a whole, and forming an unity. It is a fact that the Roman empire is essentially still existing in history—a fact which is very instructive, when viewed by the light of our prophet. The old Roman empire never thought of representing itself as a continuation of Alexander's universal

monarchy; but the Germanic empire knew no greater honour than to be a holy Roman empire of a German nationality. And even before it was dissolved, Napoleon had taken up the idea of the Roman empire; his universal monarchy was essentially and avowedly Roman; his son was called King of Rome; his nephew, in order to found his power, distributed among the French army "Roman eagles." The Roman empire is the ideal, which exerts fascinating power on the rulers of the world, which they are ever striving to realize, and will doubtless succeed in realizing. Of all phenomena of history, none bears more essential resemblance to antichrist than this demonic Napoleonism, which from the outset identified itself with the idea of the Roman empire. In like manner, is it the aim of the Czar's policy to surround his throne with the splendour of Constantinople and the eastern empire. But the Roman character is existing and manifesting itself in a more spiritual and internal manner. The Romans, conquered by the Germans, are the teachers of their victors; Roman civilisation, Roman church, Roman language, Roman law became the chief elements of Germanic civilisation. The Romanic nations are monuments, showing how deeply this influence has penetrated into the life-blood of modern humanity; "they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men," ver. 43. But they shall not cleave one to another; the Roman element again and again strives against the Germanic. The contest between Romanic and Germanic elements is the moving principles of modern history; we remind the reader only of the conflict between empire and papacy in the middle ages; of the Reformation, with its consequences, extending down to our own time. Thus the fourth monarchy has, on the one side, a tenacity truly Roman—a vigour and firmness surpassing the other kingdoms, "There shall be in it of the strength of the iron," ver. 41; "partly strong," ver. 42; but on the other side, since the introduction of the Germanic element, in the mixing of iron with clay, it is divided (ver. 41), and its component parts very changeable and fragile (partly broken or brittle, ver. 42). The Romanic element,

as *Gervinus*, among others, has pointed out in his "Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century," strives toward universal empire, while the Germanic represents the principle of individualisation, division. Hence we see ever renewed attempts to establish world monarchies, either in a spiritual shape, as the papacy (which may be viewed in this aspect), or in a worldly, as Charlemagne, Charles V., Napoleon. "But they shall not cleave one to another;" the different nationalities assert, again and again, their rights; Romanic, Germanic, Sclavonic elements oppose each other in political and religious questions; nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom (Matt. xxiv. 7), till antichrist succeed in producing a demonic union (Dan. vii. 20, 24; Rev. xvii. 12, 13, 17). Thus it is possible, even now, to trace with considerable accuracy the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the fourth monarchy. It may be thought startling, that while the first three monarchies taken together, embrace scarcely some centuries, the fourth alone extends over millennia. There must be something peculiar about this fourth monarchy. And so there is, as Daniel himself shows us. The emphasis and circumstantiality (compared with the three preceding kingdoms), with which it is introduced in the second, and specially the seventh chapter, is significant. Even though we should attach no importance to the circumstance, that the whole lower half of the image is referred to the fourth monarchy, it is of importance to notice, that while the other kingdoms consist only of one material, this consists of two; upon which fact the prophet lays great stress (ver. 41-43). Compare with this the intimations of the seventh chapter. The first three monarchies appear in the shapes of certain beasts—lion, bear, leopard; the fourth, however, is not so represented. This is of decisive importance. The last empire is too terrible, its power too great and extensive, as that it can be represented by any beast known to us. What is thus expressed concretely, is afterwards explained in words, and confirmed by the thrice repeated expression (ver. 7, 19, 23), "it was diverse from all the

beasts that went before it." Moreover, the peculiar importance of the fourth beast is shown by the prophet's opening the description of it with the full formula: "After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold," a formula, which has its analogies only in ver. 2, and in ver. 13, thus dividing the whole vision into three parts, the first of which embraces the three first kingdoms, the second the fourth and its overthrow, the third the Messianic kingdom.

The difference between the fourth monarchy and its three predecessors is indicated in the 23d verse, and consists primarily in its more unlimited universality. During the first three kingdoms, there was some world-history independent of them; Greece stood beside the East—Rome beside Greece; they were not universal monarchies in the full sense of the word, there were always other nations possessed of vigour and of a world-historical future, unsubdued, and soon in their turn subduing other powers. Hence these monarchies had only a short duration, and hence it was not possible, that the God-opposed principle should find its full development in them. Whereas the fourth monarchy includes the whole *οικουμένη*, everything of world-historical importance is concentrated in it. Even ancient authors were conscious of this. Thus *Herodian* says, II. 11, 7: "There is no part of the earth under heaven where the Romans have not extended their empire." Dionysius of Halicarnasse, in a passage strikingly suggestive of our prophecy, compares the Roman empire with the preceding world-powers, the Assyrian, Babylonian, the Persian, and the Greek. He says—"These are the most celebrated kingdoms up to our time, and such are their duration and power, but the empire of the Romans is established in all parts of the earth which are accessible and inhabited by man; its rule extends likewise over the whole ocean, and it is the first and only empire which has made the east and west its boundaries. Moreover, its power has lasted not a short period, but longer than that of any other kingdom."

This universal character is peculiar to the fourth monarchy

up to our time. All history moves within the circle of Romanic, Germanic, Sclavonic nations; and we know from the prophecy of Daniel, that before the second advent of Christ, no other nations shall be called to be centres in the history of the world.

The fourth monarchy represents universalism externally; Christianity represents universalism internally—the one striving from below to be what the other is, coming from above. Therefore, it is possible, it is necessary, that anti-Christianity be born here—a type which we have in the Roman emperors. It is possible that here, as in the building of the Tower of Babel, the whole race should rise against God: Rome becomes Babylon fully developed. The fourth monarchy is the world-power corresponding to Christianity, and therefore contemporary with it. The existence of the Roman universal empire is justly enumerated among the events constituting the “fulness of times,” in which God sent his Son (Gal. iv. 4; Mark i. 15); there was thus given to universal religion, freeing itself from the limitations of the Jewish nationality, a possibility to take the world as its field (Matt. xiii. 38).¹

The planting and spread of Christianity has brought new vital elements also to the world-power, which is the real reason why the fourth kingdom has a so much longer duration than the preceding ones. We may add this now from our stand-point, witnessing the fulfilment, though Daniel himself saw neither the long duration nor the cause of it. Whilst truth manifests its highest revelations, its antagonist, the Lie, which the kingdoms of the world are serving, likewise unfolds itself fully: the fall of the last kingdom is deeper than that of all the others, both the sin and apostasy, and the decay and judgment. The result of the development of this period is the *antichrist*, in whom all world-power and world-civilisation is united, in whom all enmity

¹ The Evangelist Luke has carefully pointed out, that the coming of the heavenly King into this world, coincides with the first act of supremacy over Judea on the part of him, in whom the Roman world-power was first represented in a person. Luke ii. 1; Baumgarten, Apostolic History, vol. i., p. 303.

against God, His people, and His service, is concentrated (ver. 8, 11, 20–24, etc). There are chiefly three attributes mentioned in connection with antichrist—1, The highest degree of wisdom, cultivation of the intellect, worldly civilisation; 2, The uniting of the whole civilised world under His dominion; 3, Atheism, antitheism, and autotheism, developed to the highest power, comp. 1 John ii. 22. The God-opposed character and power of the world reaches thus both internally and externally its culminating point, and therefore not only is power taken from the fourth beast, as was done in the case of the first three, ver. 12, but God sends terrible judgment on it, and the world-power in general, judgment as awful as it is final (ver. 11 and 26). This judgment is described with great solemnity, as issuing immediately from God (ver. 9 and 11), thus showing that political revolutions and events are now at an end; but that the history of all nations, and the whole world, is now summed up by the living God himself, and the result of its total development pronounced by the Divine Judge. And His judgment is, that the beast must be slain and given to the burning flames (ver. 11).

Also at this point, prophecy comes into collision with the views current among many Christians and theologians concerning the history and the destiny of Christianity in the present period of the world's history. In our former paragraph we contrasted the prophetic and the current views of the history of the world. We must now contrast the two views on church history, which falls altogether within the time of the fourth monarchy. What strikes us as peculiar and startling in Daniel's representation of the four monarchies is, that the first coming of Christ,—His Church and her influence on the development of the world, are left altogether unnoticed and unmentioned. The fourth monarchy, though Christianized for a millennium and a half, is not distinguished either from the preceding heathen monarchies as such, or from its own heathen portion; on the contrary, it is represented as the most terrible and as the most God-opposed of

all kingdoms. God thus speaks of the world-power in its Christian period, without mentioning at all its Christianity, only its final adherence to antichrist is spoken of. Why is this? Because Christ's kingdom, as it was established at his first advent, is not of this world (John xviii. 36), and Daniel was to prophesy the course of the world-powers; hence the kingdom of God enters his horizon at that point where it begins to be a real and external power of the world; that is, at the second advent of Christ. But we may learn from this a very important lesson, viz., that even during the Christian period of the world's history, the old character of the world is essentially existing; that the outward Christianity, which the kingdoms of the world have adopted for fifteen centuries, is very far from real Christianity; but that the kingdom of God is a hidden and suffering one, till the Lord Jesus comes again (Col. iii. 3; Rom. viii. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12). *Roos* remarks, p. 70: "The Roman empire was worldly as long as it was heathen; it has remained worldly, though it has become Christian."

Daniel does not stand isolated in this view, but the whole New Testament bears witness to the same truth. From this point of view, we can understand why the apostles looked forward with such ardent desire to the coming of Christ; why they constantly look to that event, and put it into so much closer relation to all their actions and feelings, than we are wont to do. They also, although living after the first advent of Christ, view quite in the same manner as Daniel the present aeon, as contrasted with the future aeon, beginning with the parousia of Christ, as an evil and essentially heathenish age of the world, whose god is the devil, and which we cannot love, and to which we cannot conform without denying and forsaking the cause of Christ (Gal. i. 4; Eph. ii. 2; 2 Cor. iv. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Rom. xii. 2, comp. 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6, 8; iii. 18); they also know with Daniel, that the fashion and essence of the world passeth away, and the object of Christianity is, according to them, not so much to Christianize even now the present world, but rather to save

souls from the present evil world-course, lest they be condemned with the world. It is thus that the very apostle, who proclaimed most distinctly and powerfully the unlimited universal character of this gospel, describes the object of Christ's coming and of Christianity (1 Cor. vii. 81, comp. 1 John ii. 15, 17; Gal. i. 4; 1 Cor. xi. 32). It is as yet not the time for Christians and Christianity to rule and to possess the kingdom; this forms truly the object of our hopes and desires (1 Cor. iv. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 12). In the present aeon, our Lord is looking not so much to the whole as to the individual, not so much to the external as the internal, not so much to what is great and extensive, as to what is low and humble; the gathering together of a congregation, which will be called to rule with Him in the millennium (Matt. xix. 28; v. 5; Luke xii. 32; xxii. 28-30; Rom. v. 17; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. i. 6; ii. 26-28; iii. 21; xx. 4). All external Christian institutions of Church and State are only means subservient to that end, means for the gift and preservation of which we ought to feel gratitude, and which to keep vital and spiritual, ought to be our active aim; but, with regard to which, we must never forget that they are not essential, but a passing form, which shall give way to a more perfect one, promised by the Lord.¹ The congregation of the faithful, the invisible church, is even at present the salt of the earth and the light of the world; scattered throughout all lands, she spreads

¹ *Roos*, speaking of the relation between State and Church during the fourth monarchy, says, among other things, p. 123,—“After the Reformation, the Protestant rulers took again to themselves ecclesiastical rights, with the consent of the congregations, and have since then exercised them, through their consistories, and with such government every member of the Church may rest satisfied at this present time. But such church government is not yet what ought and is to be. It is a vain attempt to found the rights which worldly rulers exercise in Church matters during the fourth monarchy, on declarations of Scripture. They have no other foundation, but the present defective and distressed state of the Church. The best church government is described, Isaiah xlix. 7, 23; lx. 3, 10-12.—Behold then the Church of God's saints will be free, and exercise her royal rights upon earth as the Bride of the Lamb.” Such is also the hope of *Spener*.

everywhere the blessings of Christianity, so that the birds of the air may come and lodge under the branches of this divine Tree of Life (Matt. v. 13-16; xiii. 32). For even they who are merely nominal Christians, and only members of the outward visible church, partake in some of those blessings which Christianity has brought into the present age of the world—general morality, purer humanity, blessings of secondary importance,—while the true Christians are seeking the invisible and future, their better part, their spiritual life being rooted in the future heavenly world (Ep. ii. 6; 2 Cor. iv. 18; Col. iii. 1, 2; Heb. xiii. 14; Phil. iii. 20). In a general and secondary sense, one may speak of a Christian state, Christian art, Christian culture and civilisation. Only let us guard against the idea, that it is either possible, or that it is destined that Christianity is to Christianize in the real spiritual sense, or as the expression is often erroneously used in this connection, to transfigure the world during the present period of the world's history. Christianity exerts an ennobling influence on all spheres of life; but a transfiguration in the correct sense of the word must needs be preceded by a regeneration, a palingenesis; first, there must be death and resurrection, even as our Lord had to pass through this path to His transfiguration. The kingdoms of this world—this is the simple and clear meaning of our prophecy—must first be *destroyed*, then only is it possible that rising in a new form, they will become kingdoms of God and his Christ. State, art, civilisation, will be truly Christian in the kingdom of the millennium. Nor is even this the last and proper transfiguration, because even then the natural corruption is not perfectly exterminated. After the millennium, another apostasy and judgment must take place (Rev. xx. 7-15), in which judgment the world of nature is destroyed and renewed, as the world of history was before the kingdom of the millennium (2 Pet. iii. 10-13), and it is only then, that full, real perfection comes, with a new earth and a new heaven (Rev. xxi. 1). Thus the progression in God's ways is slow and gradual (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 8, 9); the most im-

portant things God has not given to our charge, but reserved for His power; and the apostles and prophets were wise in looking constantly to the parousia of Christ, and in representing the Christian always as one waiting (1 Thes. i. 9, 10; 2 Pet. iii. 11, 12, 14; Luke xii. 35, 36, 40-46; Matt. xxv. 1-23; Mark xiii. 33-37); even our divine Lord is waiting for His great future, "from henceforth *expecting* till His enemies be made His footstool."—Heb. x. 13. And, therefore, it is, that Daniel does not speak of any change in the world-power prior to the millennium, and does not speak differently of the world-power during the church historical time, than of the preceding kingdoms. Politics are based on spiritual laws, and the voice of history proclaims distinctly, that even in our Christian era, politics are as much ruled by the worldly spirit of egoistical and material interest, as was the case in the old heathen empires; nay, that this antichristian spirit is gaining every day more the ascendancy. This view of the world and our times is founded on the word of God, and is alone able to give true comfort, rest, and light, amid the outward and inward confusions of the present.

The following passages, from the writings of contemporary theologians, will show how necessary it is to bring forward these truths of Scripture with all possible distinctness and force. The supposition on which these quotations rest is, that not He who sitteth on the throne, but man, will renew all things by his advancing political wisdom, civilisation, and piety.¹

"God grant," says *Lücke* (Loc. cit. xvii), "that all princes and statesmen would listen in these our times, to the apocalyptic voices, trumpets, and vials of wrath, and divine judgments, take them to heart, and thus rule the nations, that State and Church may evermore build themselves up to become like that city of God from heaven, spoken of Rev. xxi."

And, in like manner, *Schenkel* in a sermon on Rom. viii. 19-23

¹ Forgetting Dan. ii. 34, (Luther's version) "Without hand of man!"

(das Trostwort der Hoffnung zwolf Predigten, Schaffhausen, 1851, p. 108). "All creation will become free. The inert shapes, which are now dead, will be *gradually* penetrated and illumined by the Spirit. The solitary places and deserts, which are now desolate and barren, will gradually be changed into fertile fields of God. The dark powers, which at present are either ruling unrestrained or slumbering undeveloped, will be taken ever more and more into the service of divine wisdom, and thus *be redeemed*. Nature will become spirit, and the life of the creation be transfigured into life spiritual. There will be a new heaven and a new earth, all old things will then have passed away. But, and if some ask, where are the traces of such a transfiguration of the world, of such progressive sanctification and perfection of the life of creation and the human race upon earth? Doth not nature pursue, without intermission, her wonted course? And as to man, is he not rather always becoming worse instead of better? The kingdom of darkness, doth it not ever extend its dominion? Are not all things pressing forwards to a battle of decision, in which we can scarcely hope the cause of the righteous will be victorious? O ye of little faith, we may exclaim, with our Lord, have you not eyes to see? How is it that you do not understand the ways of the Lord, and cannot interpret aright his leadings? Be not like the Pharisees of old, who saw not the signs of the times. Doth not rude matter see itself compelled to carry with lightning speed human thought from one end of the earth to the other? Must not inert metal carry man as on wings of storm from place to place, and thus increase immeasurably man's living personal intercourse with one another? Is not all nature stepping down to man to free him from his heaviest burden, and to labour, though unconsciously, in the service of spirit? Natural science, in our day is not merely science, but prophecy. And is it true, what those affirm, who are of little faith and weak, that man is becoming worse? It cannot be true, were it only for this, that then the prince of darkness, and not the God of Light, would

achieve the victory. But deeper thought and consideration will lead us to a different result. Do we not see how the messengers of the gospel penetrate into the furthest corners of the earth? Is not the cross, in spite of all ignominy and persecution it has to bear upon earth, the highest object of human veneration, achieving ever new and glorious victories? Doth not Christian soberness and righteousness stand out like a rock in the midst of the raging sea, in the flood of pernicious immorality; and must not even they, who hate it, bow before it in reverence? Did not a new life of faith awake among the nations, so that the unbelievers are beginning to be ashamed of their infidelity, and will soon be looked upon as the "one-sided, and narrow-minded, and antiquated," while the faithful are gaining in public respect as well as in heavenly strength. The history of the world is not only the judgment, but also the transfiguration of the world."

Contrast with this the words of biblical soberness and truth uttered by Baumgarten (Acts ii. 2).—"The Church may succeed to make the worldly caricature of the kingdom more resembling and approaching the divine model which we possess in the history of Israel and in the promises of prophecy, aye, even to renew some features altogether; only let us never allow ourselves to imagine, that the Church, by thus forming herself according to her model, in the midst of this world, interrupts the secret and increasing continuousness of the world-kingdom. Holy Scripture teaches us, that this will be effected in a totally different manner."

In like manner, Hofmann expresses himself (Weissa. u. Erfüll. ii. 295).—"The expectation of the man of sin does indeed not accord with the hope of the increasing Christianization of our political and social life; but who is it that causes us to entertain such a hope of a world, in which the mystery of iniquity is unceasingly active? The more observing eye cannot fail to observe, that this external Christianity of social and natural life of which we boast so much, is only to be regarded as something

intermediate, which will disappear, and be succeeded by heathenism, after having fulfilled its temporary use."

To these negative statements we add the positive one of Kurtz (Loc. cit. 278).—"In the millennium it is, that Christianity will obtain a complete outward victory, unconditional recognition from all potentates and governments, the most glorious development in all relations and situations of life, art, and science; when all relations of life, the highest as well as the lowest, will be based on divine love and consecrated to God."

After these remarks, the reader will not fail to see the reasons, why the first coming of Christ, and the events connected therewith are passed over in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel; and it will appear even less strange, if we bear in mind that Daniel's primary object was to prophecy to his own nation, and he viewed, therefore, necessarily, the whole period from the destruction to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Israel, as one period; and the last remnant of astonishment must disappear, when we remember, that in the ninth chapter, most minute predictions are given concerning the first coming of Christ, and its importance for, and effects on, the ancient people of the covenant. But it is manifest, that the New Testament Church, which was transplanted from Israel into the Gentile world, stood in need of further and more minute disclosures concerning the time of the fourth monarchy, the times of the Gentiles (Luke xxi. 24). The starting-point in such a revelation will needs be the first advent of Christ and the first Christian church (a starting-point not necessary in Daniel's prophecy concerning the kingdoms of the world), and its chief subject, therefore, will be the relation of this chiefly Gentile Christian church to the heathen world-power. Thus it is the period between Christ's death and Jerusalem's destruction, and the second coming of Christ—a period which Daniel saw only dimly in its great general outlines—which falls now chiefly within the light of apocalyptic prophecy. We know that the apocalypse of John is in the New Testament and to the

Christian Church, what Daniel was in the Old and to the ancient covenant people.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE BEASTS AND THE WOMAN IN THE REVELATION OF ST JOHN.

In attempting to offer our remarks on the Apocalypse of the New Testament, we do not conceal from ourselves the difficulties of the task to explain this book, which calls itself, in a peculiar sense, the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him (i. 1), and which abounds so much in mysteries, that centuries, and the most enlightened men of God, have laboured in vain to explain it satisfactorily. The following remarks lay no higher claim than to be an attempt, offered for examination to those who, like Daniel (ix. 2), search the Scriptures.

All students of the Apocalypse, who view it in a spiritual way, experience, at every new interpretation, what the Queen of Arabia experienced, with regard to, what she had heard about Solomon: "Behold, the half was not told me; thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom (1 Kings x. 7, 8). This will also be the case with our exposition. It lies in the nature of the case, that the great task cannot be solved by one man, or even one generation, for the book has been given to the whole church of believers, throughout all centuries, till the second coming of Christ; and since fulfilment only brings the full exposition of prophecy, it is natural, and necessary, that we are only advancing in our approximation to the true interpretation. But it is just on account of the difficult nature of the task, that attempts may, and ought to be, made again and again to solve the holy problems, and that, in these new attempts, we should avail ourselves of the results gained by our predecessors,

while we separate carefully the impure and erroneous elements they contain. The views prevalent at present on the Apocalypse contain so much of what deserves to be cast aside, that many have thereby lost altogether their faith in the authority and important position of this book, and, for this reason, we venture to make a new attempt. We are encouraged, in our undertaking, especially by the circumstance that we know our view of the Revelations to be in harmony with the other prophecies of Holy Scripture, not only with Daniel and the other Old Testament prophets, but also with the prophecies contained in the New Testament, with the view of the world and of history, which Christ and his apostles are represented to hold. The analogy of Scripture, this fundamental principle of exegesis, is of double importance in the case of a book, which, as is generally admitted, forms the concluding consummation of all biblical prophecy. As we kept this constantly in view during our investigations of Daniel, we shall adhere even more strictly to this method in our remarks on St John, hoping that our work will gain thereby, in convincing force as well as in interest.

Here, where we are speaking of parallel passages corresponding to Daniel, we have not to view the whole book of Revelations, but the most important part of it, which decides the understanding of the whole, namely, the section beginning with the twelfth chapter. For, it is beyond doubt, that the explanation given to the symbols, occurring in this portion of the book, the woman, the harlot, and the two beasts, forms the key to the exposition of the whole book. As the correct view concerning the formal arrangement of the book has now been generally adopted, it is the more easily possible to select and separate such an individual portion. We saw, in the case of Daniel, that the same subject is spoken of in the second and seventh chapters, and in the eighth and eleventh, though light is thrown on it in different ways. Something similar do we meet in the Apocalypse. The introductory and concluding parts, chap. i.-iii. and xx.-xxii., show us first the stand-point and time of the prophet, and secondly,

the final completion of the whole counsel of God; the time between these two termination-points, or, as we may say, speaking in a general way, the time between the first and second coming of our Lord, is the period spoken of in these groups of prophecy, in which it is viewed in its different aspects; the seven seals (iv.-viii.), the seven trumpets (viii.-xi.), and the seven vials (xii.-xix.). Each of these groups has an addition peculiar to itself, which is placed in the two first groups, between the sixth and seventh seal, and between the sixth and seventh trumpet (chap. vii.-x., 1-11, 14), whereas, in the case of the third group, it does not interrupt the succession of the seven vials, but partly precedes them (xii.-xiv.), partly follows after them (xvii.-xix.). Our special task demands the consideration of the last group, and chiefly of chapters xii.-xiii., xvii.-xix., and this will lead us to consider the twentieth chapter, which forms a parallel to the Messianic kingdom of Daniel. We shall pursue our former method (in Section II.), and give first our own exposition, and then a representation and criticism of the most important views of the Apocalypse, which differ from ours, and bear on our question.

EXPOSITION OF REVELATION XII., ETC.

I. STARTING-POINT; JOHN'S POSITION IN THE HISTORY OF REVELATION.

This is not the place to discuss, at length, the difficult question about the time in which the Apocalypse was written. Without wishing to speak on this point in too decided a tone, we may shortly premise that, notwithstanding the weight of the testimony of Irenaeus, in favour of the time being under the reign of Domitian, the evidence contained in the book itself is more in favour of the view held unanimously by *Guericke*, *Thiersch*, *Lut-terbeck*,¹ *Lücke*, *Baur*, and others, that it was written shortly

¹ Die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe II., 256.

before the destruction of Jerusalem. The remarks of Thiersch, on the historical constellation from which the book of Revelation proceeded, are very successful, though they are not perfectly clear in detail.¹ However, the following remarks will apply, in all essential respects, equally, though the other view should be adopted, which has been recently represented by J. Chr. K. Hofmann, Hengstenberg, and Ebrard. The situation of the kingdom of God on earth, in which, and out of which, the Revelation of St John originated, bears the strongest resemblance to that out of which the prophecies of Daniel took their rise. In the one case, it was the Old Testament church scattered among the heathens; here it is the church of the New Testament; there we see Jerusalem destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, here by Titus; there the great question is, What has Israel to expect from the hands of the powers of the world? here the same question is of paramount importance as regards the congregation of Jesus Christ, which is likewise placed within the sphere of those kingdoms. Both Apocalyptics look into "the times of the Gentiles;" but Daniel sees in the first centuries of these times, a restoration of Israel and Jerusalem, which, however, is in troublous times, and ends with a terrible destruction of the holy city (Dan. ix. 24-27). This destruction is immediately before St John, and he, therefore, sees the kingdom of God without any external stay—without a home on earth—it was transplanted already, by the instrumentality of St Paul, into the Gentile world; the Jews even oppose it with decided hostility (Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9); the seven congregations of Asia Minor, to whom the Apocalypse is directed (chaps. ii. and iii.), are chiefly Gentile Christians, and yet representatives of the whole Church. Thus, every external distinction between the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of this world, has been removed, and this accounts for a characteristic difference, which distinguishes the stand-point of St John from that of Daniel. Both agree in representing the Son of Man descending at the end of

¹ Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter, p. 230-253.

the times of the world to judge the antichristian power, and to establish his own glorious kingdom ; but Daniel sees only beasts prior to the end ; John, on the other hand, beasts, and *also the woman*, who, according to the almost unanimous interpretation of commentators, represents the Church of God. It was not necessary that the Church should be symbolically represented in the visions of Daniel, because, Israel was sufficiently distinguished from the heathen world by external national boundary-lines ; whereas now, when the congregation of believers is moving like the powers of the world in the sea of nations, when outward distinctions have been removed, it is necessary that the internal essential antithesis between church and world, should be marked and emphasized, and, for this reason, the woman is opposed to the beasts. And, for this reason, as we shall notice subsequently, we are told at once concerning the woman, that she passes from Israel to the heathen world.

Such being the case, the twofold question arises, first, How are we to understand the promises of glory given of the kingdom of God ? and, secondly, What relation will now subsist between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, seeing that the former has passed over into the latter ? To this twofold question our present age has furnished the answer—the same answer which is intimated throughout the book. The times are even now, we remark in the first place, during which the powers of this world rule upon the earth, and oppress and keep under the kingdom of God (comp. ii. 10, xiv. 3, 10). True, Christ has taken His throne in heaven, in the glory of King and Judge, as Head and Protector of His congregations (xii. 20) ; but it is necessary to be in the spirit, in order to see Him (ver. 19), for as yet His life is hid in God ; the hour is not come yet, when He shall take to Himself great power, and shall reign and give reward to His saints, and destroy them which destroy the earth (Rev. xi. 17, 18) ; still have the martyrs to cry out, “How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth” (vi. 9, 10). The Church

is still a Church militant and suffering; she has experienced this in the persecution of Nero, in which the world-power concentrated all its bestial fury on her. On this dark back-ground does the book of Revelations rise, and thus it becomes a book of comfort for the congregations of Christ's believers, in all the struggles which may yet have to be fought with the powers of the world. But even as Daniel's view was not confined to Nebuchadnezzar, or even to Antiochus Epiphanes, even so is John's view not limited to Nero and the Roman imperators: this would be too limited a horizon for "the revelation of Jesus Christ." The beasts of Daniel are of universal signification; still more may this be affirmed of the beast in the Apocalypse.

But the Church has experienced, in another manner, that she is still in the ungodly world. The kingdom of this world has not only oppressed her from without, but the essence of the former has penetrated into her own sphere. Of this the seven epistles to the churches contain but too ample indications. We see that coldness crept into the spiritual life of the congregations themselves, so that the Lord has to address to many of them the solemn word, "I have against thee!" and to blame in particular several of them—Ephesus, that it has left its first love; Sardis, that it has only a name—that it liveth, and is dead; Laodicea, that it is neither cold nor hot—that it sayeth, I am rich, and increased with goods, instead of knowing its misery, poverty, and blindness (ii. 4, 5; iii. 1-3, 15-19). But this is not all; but error and seduction have passed over from heathenism, and its false gnosis has insinuated itself into the Church, through the Nicolaitanes, the followers of the doctrine of Balaam, and the false prophetess, Jezebel, who seduced the faithful to heathenish conformity to the world, and licentiousness, to *fornication* (ii. 6, 14, 15, 20-27).¹

¹ The indications of Judaising heresies, which may be traced in the Apocalypse, are not quite unambiguous. Perhaps only the apostles, which were found to be liars (ii. 2), belong to that heresy. Those who had the name of Jews, but were the synagogue of Satan (ii. 9; iii. 9), were real Jews, hostile to the

We must consider the internal state of the Church at the time of John, as well as the external persecutions, in investigating the historical background and starting-point of the Apocalypse. As Paul and Peter (1 Tim. iv. 1 ; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ; 2 Pet. ii. 1 ; iii. 3), so John foresees the further development of the corruption within the Church ; hence his prophecies concerning the harlot and the false prophet, with which prophecies are connected several passages in his epistles (1 John ii. 18, 22 ; iv. 3 ; 2 John 7). In this respect we may regard the Apocalypse as a book of warning to the Church, against conformity to the world, and against false doctrine. We find an analogy to this in Daniel, in the apostasy of so many Israelites from the covenant of God, which he foresees to happen in the time of Antiochus xi. 30-32 ; xii. 10), and in the even greater apostasy of the whole nation at the first coming of the Messiah (ix. 26, 27). Moreover, this view, as is natural, is not so prominent in his prophecy ; as he does not represent the woman, he does not mention the harlot. We shall find a preparatory analogy to the false prophet in the cunning eyes of antichrist.

The three points in the age of John, from which the revelations given by the spirit of prophecy, or rather the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour exalted at the right hand of God, start—are, 1, The Church has passed over into the world of Gentiles, and is making continual progress in that sphere. But in doing so, she is, 2, persecuted ; and, 3, seduced, as heathenism passes over into her sphere. These fundamental views prepare, in the meantime, a general understanding of the principal symbolic figures of our book, the woman, the beast, the harlot, the false prophet. We have now to show the future development of world and Church, as described by prophecy, starting from the points we indicated.

Christian Church. Comp. de Wette's and Hengstenberg's remarks on those passages.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH AND WORLD IN HISTORY.

I. THE CHURCH AND THE POWER OF THE WORLD.

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters contain characteristics of the conflicting powers; they describe the woman on the one side; the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, on the other. All these powers are described in the universal spirit of the New Testament, according to all their relations to the history of the world and the kingdom. The vision refers not merely to the future, but, for the sake of giving the characteristics distinctly, also the present time of the writer, and the past, as is required by the circumstances of the case (comp. Rev. xvii., *ἐπεσαν. ἔστιν οὐκ ἦλθεν*). John first speaks of the woman; let us consider now his prophecies concerning her.

a. The Woman and the Dragon.

1. Woman and beast form manifestly the same contrast, as in Daniel the Son of man and the beasts. This is indicated, even by the locality where the two seers behold these visions. As the Son of Man is seen by Daniel to come from heaven (Dan. xii. 1), so the apostle sees the woman in heaven (xii. 1); and as the beasts in Daniel rise out of the sea, in like manner the beast in the Apocalypse (xiii. 1). In both cases it is the human which is opposed to the bestial, only with Daniel in male, with John in female shape. We know, that herein the contrast between the kingdom of God and that of the world is symbolized. Daniel beholds the Man, the Bridegroom, the Messiah; because he looks into the time when Christ shall reappear visibly and establish His kingdom upon earth. John, on the other hand, within whose horizon lies, to speak at present only in a general way, the time before the second advent, beholds the woman, the bride, the congregation of God in the world. He beholds her

in the figure of a woman, and this symbolism is not confined to the Apocalypses, but is a consummation of the whole *usus loquendi* of the Old and New Testaments. It begins in the Pentateuch, in which the apostasy of the people of Israel from God to idols is represented as fornication, while the holy earnestness of God is spoken of as jealousy—expressions which have for their foundation the view of a marriage relation between God and Israel, in which the Lord is the Husband, the people the wife (for example, Exod. xxxiv. 15; Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5, 6; Numb. xiv. 33, xv. 39; Deut. xxxi. 16, xxxii. 16, 21). We find a further development of this view in the writings of the prophets, who apply the image in a great variety of ways—time of espousal, marriage state, adultery, divorce, widowhood, etc. (Isa. i. 21, l. 1, liv. 1; Jer. ii. 2, 20, 23–25, iii. 1; Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.; Hos. i., etc.) In the New Testament the same expression is used by John the Baptist, who designates the Lord Jesus, the Messiah, as the Bridegroom, whose is the bride (John iii. 29). Thus from the very outset Christ is introduced in the place of Jehovah; in the time of fulfilment Jehovah became Jesus Christ, as His name manifests *ὁ κύριος*, the Lord. He Himself calls Himself the Bridegroom (Matt. ix. 15), and has developed this comparison in His parable of the ten virgins, the royal marriage, and similar sayings. We meet the same view in the apostolic epistles. Paul, in his epistle to the Ephesians (v. 23–32), has developed this image, and shown its deep foundation, in pointing out how the original institution of marriage in Paradise (Gen ii.),¹ was a type of Christ and His Church. All this the Apocalypse sums up in the one word, *woman* (xii. 1). The characteristic of woman, in contradistinction to that of man, is her being subject (Eph. v. 22–24), the surrendering of herself, her being receptive. And this is in like manner the characteristic of man in his relation to God; if he is to correspond to his nature, he can only live in subjection to God, and receiving

¹ Comp. Delitzsch, *Hohelied*, p. 186.

from Him. All autonomy of the human spirit is an essential reversion of his relation to God. It is this receptive, woman-like position of man towards God and divine things, which the Bible calls faith, and on which, according to her teaching, all reception of divine life and strength depends. Faith is also a child-like relationship to God; by it we become God's children (Gal. iii. 26). In connection with this, take the sayings of our Lord about becoming again like children, and the teachings of the New Testament about adoption. The individual soul is a child of God; the children collectively are viewed as the woman (Isa. liv. 1-3; Ezek. xvi. 20). Thus the term woman does not merely sum up all previous expressions used in connection with this comparison, but in general every thing that has been taught in Scripture concerning the fundamental relation of man to God. Humanity, in so far as it belongs to God, is the woman; therefore it is said emphatically of Christ, the Son of the woman (Rev. xii. 5), that He is a Man-child, a Son. True, He is born of a woman, and under the law (Gal. iv. 4); He is the true result and product of the Old Testament Church, and hence subject to her law and order of life; but at the same time, He is the Son of God, and as such His relation to the Church is that of husband to wife. The husband, says the apostle Paul (1 Cor. xi. 7), is God's image and glory; but woman is the glory of her husband. Hence it is a further characteristic of the Son, that He rules with an iron sceptre; He is Ruler and Shepherd of the flock, as He is Husband of the woman. This is the simple meaning of the addition male to son, apparently pleonastic.¹ As Son of the woman, He is, as He calls Himself, Son of man; as υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, He is the Son of the living God, who becomes, in the name of God, Bridegroom and Husband of the Church, because He has received of the Father to have life in Himself (John v. 26). Beside Him no man dare call himself male—no man dare deny his receptive, woman-like position; for they who

¹ The English translation is man-child, the original υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, Männlicher Shon.—Tr.

imagine to have life in themselves, who separate themselves from God, rise against Him, and, trusting to stand in their own strength, sink to the level of irrational beasts. The proud nature-strength of man is not of a manly, but of a beastly kind; it is nothing but the brute force of the beast. We refer to our remarks on the beasts in Daniel. We see thus in the contrast of beast and woman, not only expressions of individual and accidental features, but they represent the two fundamental tendencies of mankind, the children of light and the children of this world. There is nothing intermediate; we must belong either to the woman or the beast. This is only a symbolical expression of the antithesis, which we meet everywhere in the Gospel and the Epistles of John—God and world, light and darkness, truth and falsehood, life and death. The one is, as we shall see afterwards, clothed with the sun of God, the other is an image of the devil; this renders the parallel more distinct. Nor is the choice of symbols accidental or arbitrary, but based on the essential characteristics of woman and of the beast.

If this be true, we will naturally expect, that woman and beast designate the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, not only in this or that period of their development in time; but also in general universality. And this is, moreover, quite in keeping with the stand-point of New Testament Apocalypse, to which the whole mystery of the divine counsel of God is opened through Christ, the full universality of the retrospect and prospect, as Paul says, that the mystery of Christ is now more fully revealed ἀπεκαλύφθη unto His holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit (Eph. iii. 5). We shall therefore have to go back to the time when the antithesis of the kingdom of God and the world commences to manifest itself in history, that is, when Israel is separated from among the nations. The text shows clearly, that "woman" must be understood in this general sense. If we do not put any violent meaning on the expression, "birth of a male son," it can only apply to the historical fact of the birth of Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary, only He, as we

have seen, can claim the predicate ἀπην. This is confirmed by the unambiguous prominence given to the two circumstances which commence and conclude the life of Christ, the birth and the devilish councils of murder, plotted by Herod against the new-born child (ver. 4); and secondly, by the ascension to heaven, and His sitting on the throne (ver. 5; comp. iii. 21). There lies a grand contrast in this: the child, instead of being devoured by the devil, is caught up unto God and His throne. We see, that hereon is based the victory over Satan, of which ver. 7 speaks more at length. But the woman of whom Jesus is born, represents the *congregation of God in its Old Testament shape*. And what more appropriate symbol of the Old Testament Church, than a woman travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered (ver. 2)? The most ardent wish and longing of the ancient patriarchs, the germ of a higher, man-like divine life, which lay hid in the old covenant, developing itself and becoming ever clearer to the consciousness of the Church, to which all things in the Old Testament dispensation were subservient and preparatory, was nothing else but what Isaiah expressed in the words: "To us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulders, and His name shall be Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty Lord, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." And thus even Micah saw in spirit the daughter of Zion as a woman in travail, whom pangs have taken (Micah iv. 9, 10; v. 3). Finally, we are led to think of the Old Testament Church by the emblems which are mentioned in ver. 1, in connection with the woman: She is clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars, for these three details remind us of the dream of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.) Jacob himself interprets the dream to refer to himself, his wife, and sons, consequently, to the Old Testament Church in the fundamental form, in which it then existed, and which afterwards appeared again in the twelve tribes. But this only shows us the historical point, from which the choice of emblems starts, it does not sufficiently ac-

count for them. We have to investigate what is meant by the woman being clothed with the sun, why the moon is said to be under her feet, and a crown of twelve stars upon her head. It is evident, that sun, moon, and star have a symbolical meaning. The sun is the heavenly light which disperses the darkness of the lower world. Thus, God himself is called the Sun; and of Christ's countenance it is said, that it shineth like the sun (Rev. i. 16; Psalm lxxxiv. 11). And, in like manner, those who love the Lord are described (as early as Judges v. 31) to be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might; and Jesus promises to the righteous, that they will shine as the sun in their Father's kingdom (Matt. xiii. 43). Thus, the clothing with the sun symbolises the congregation of God as the bearer of supernatural divine light in this world; the same symbol, according to which the churches are represented as lights, candlesticks; the seven churches being the church universal—the woman. It is said of God, "He covereth Himself with light as with a garment" (Psalm civ. 2); so, in a secondary sense, the same is predicated of the woman, who, with Christ, is called the light of the world (Matt. v. 14; John viii. 12). On the other side, the moon is an earthly light, and not capable of overcoming the darkness, though shining in it. The cosmological relationship between earth and moon is recognised in antiquity, especially in the mythologies, where we find generally a female principle, goddess of moon and earth, opposed to the male principle of heaven, the god of the sun.¹ In the Apocalypse, we find the worldly element represented by the three terms, sea, earth, moon—in opposition to the kingdom of God,—heaven, the sun. Sea and earth stand opposed to heaven (Rev. xii. 12; John iii. 12, 31); the moon in same manner to the sun. The sea is the mighty, troubled ocean of nations (peoples and multitudes, and nations, and tongues) (Rev. xvii. 15; comp. Psalm lxxv. 7; lxxxix. 10, 11; Isaiah viii. 7–9); out of it the beast arises (Rev. xiii. 1; Dan. vii. 3). The *earth* means the consolidated,

¹ Comp. Köster, Nachweis der Spuren der Trinitätslehre vor Christus, p. 7.

ordered world of nations, with their civilisation and learning, they produce the false prophet (Rev. xiii. 11), whose wisdom is earthly, opposed to that which is from above (*σοφία ἐπίγειος*, James iii. 15). The moon stands above sea and earth, she is a light in the heavens; but yet she belongs altogether to earth and earthly relations: she is not capable of dispersing the darkness and changing it into day. She thus represents the relations of the world in its essential spirit to the supernatural world; she represents heathenism, the cosmic religion. We see, therefore, the world, with its physical power, wisdom, and religion, represented by the three symbols, sea, earth, moon. Now, the woman is clothed with the sun, and the moon is under her feet; hereby the church is represented as the bearer of true heavenly light, of the divine revealed religion, which has, under it, as vanquished and conquered, the false, worldly religion, heathenism, even as all Christ's enemies are to be put under His feet (*ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν* or *ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας*, Psalm cx. 1; Matt. xxii. 44; 1 Cor. xv. 25—*ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν*, Rev. xii. 1; comp. Rom. xvi. 20: God will bruise Satan under your feet). Finally, the stars, as we know from the Apocalypse and Daniel, stand for the bearers of divine light; hence their position contrasts with that of the moon; they are about the head of the woman; for this reason the devil's efforts are directed chiefly against them (Rev. xii. 4). The angels of the churches are called stars (Rev. i. 20); in Dan. xii. 3, eternal brightness of stars is promised to the teachers; while Israel, who has the Lord of Hosts for its God, is called in the same prophet (Dan. viii. 10) the starry hosts of heaven. The twelve tribes of this Israel are the twelve stars, which are as a crown round the head of the woman. And this holy number, "twelve," meets us again in the twelve apostles, who form the foundation of the New Testament Church, and who are placed in connection with the twelve tribes of the covenant people, not only in Matt. xix. 28, but in the book of Revelations itself. The Lord speaks of them in the former passage as the future rulers over the twelve tribes of Israel; in

the latter passage, they correspond to the names of the twelve tribes, which are written on the gates of the New Jerusalem, the twelve apostles of the Lamb, who stand at the foundation of the city of God. This last passage forms a simple exposition of our text. For, since the New Jerusalem is also called the woman (Rev. xxi. 2, 9, 10); the woman with the twelve stars signifies the same as the city with the twelve gates and foundations; the one is the exalted and transfigured church, the other the church militant.

In referring the twelve stars also to the twelve apostles, we have expressed implicitly, that the woman represents the Church of God, not only in the Old Testament, but likewise in the *New Testament form*. From our remarks, it will be evident, that it is equally impossible to understand by the woman only the Old Testament Church, or Israel, as it is to refer the expression merely to the New Testament Church. For we know, that Israel ceased soon after the ascension of Christ to be the congregation of God (Dan. ix.). And yet in Rev. xii. 6, 13, the woman is spoken of subsequently to that event. Thus the text referring both to the past and future, our former view is confirmed, that the expression woman, relates to the congregation of God in this world, generally and universally, and cannot be limited to any particular period or epoch. The first thing we read of the woman after the ascension of Christ, is ver. 6, that she flees into the wilderness. *Wilderness!* Evidently a symbolical expression; let us see what is meant by it. Let us consult the context and the parallels of Scripture. It is by flight that the woman comes into the wilderness. If we remark whence she flies, we shall find also whither. It is before the persecutions of the devil, through Herod, and in general through the Jews. But whither does she fly? Where did she take her refuge after Christ's ascension? Undoubtedly from the Jews to the heathens. Therefore it is, that in this passage, the attribute given to Christ elsewhere, that He will rule the heathen with an iron sceptre (ii. 27; xix. 5; Ps. ii. 9), is expressly mentioned. From

the time of His ascension, the heathens are given to Him as His field; thither His Church, persecuted by the Jews, takes her refuge (from Acts viii. onwards). There God has prepared a place for her to be sheltered and nourished (Rev. xii. 6, 14). Thus the wilderness and the land of the heathens mean the same.¹ This signification appears as yet only as a supposition, based on the context; let us see whether it is corroborated by the prophetic *usus loquendi*. We know that Canaan, as the seat of all temporal and spiritual blessings of God, is called the land of glory, of pleasantness, etc. (Jer. iii. 19; Ezek. xx. 6, 15; Dan. xi. 16, 41; viii. 9). The land of the heathen, on the contrary, is a wilderness, because forsaken by the fulness of divine life and strength. As God dwells and reveals himself in the land of glory, the demons dwell in the wilderness (Matt. xii. 43; Mark i. 13; Lev. xvi. 21, 22; Isa. xxxiv. 14); they are the rulers and princes of the heathen world (1 Cor. x. 20; Rev. ix. 20). Hence, when Israel is exiled to Babylon, it is said to be in the wilderness (Isa. xl. 3; xli. 17-19; xlii. 10-12; xliii. 19, 20, etc.). This *usus loquendi* in the second part of Isaiah is based on a passage in the first, which is of utmost significance for our purpose. The burden over Babylon, which we read, Isaiah xxi. 1-10, is entitled: The burden of the desert of the sea.² Thus the Babylonian kingdom of the world is called here a desert of the sea; or, in accordance with the signification given above to the symbolic expression sea, desert of the nations. The heathen world, notwithstanding all its glory and splendour, is yet in its essential nature a wilderness and desolate place; because, without God, and against God; because it is only natural and deserved when it is laid waste, and the prophets often dwell on this with great emphasis (Isa. xlii. 19-22; xiv. 22, 23; xxxiv. 1-15; Ezek. xxix. 3-12; xxxv. 3-5; Mal. i. 3, 4, etc.). The passage Isaiah

¹ In German the same expression denotes wilderness, and heathen country, heiden land.

² Comp. Drechsler, Isaiah ii. p. 108, and Schmieder (Propheten i. 87) on Isaiah xxi. 1.

xxi. is of the greater importance, as the Apocalypse refers to it in other places, as it has taken from it the expression fallen, fallen is Babylon (Rev. xiv. 8 ; xviii. 2), and we shall see, that in the wilderness, in the world of heathens, the woman herself becomes Babylon, a harlot. Thus the flight of the woman into the wilderness is nothing else but the passing away from the kingdom of God, from the Jews, and its introduction among the Gentiles (Matt. viii. 11, 12 ; xxii. 43 ; Acts xiii. 46, 47 ; xxviii. 25-28). There subsists a similar difference between the country of glory and the wilderness ; as the Lord describes in the parables of the great supper and the royal marriage, when the invitation is first directed to the respectable people living in their rich possessions, the Jews ; and, when they were unwilling to come, to the poor, and blind, and halt, and lame on the streets, yea, even to the people on the roads and hedges without, that is, the Gentiles in their wilderness (Luke xiv. 16-24 ; Matt. xxii. 2-16). Finally, our view is confirmed by the manner in which the woman's flight into Egypt is mentioned a second time in Rev. xii. 14. Instead of saying, she fled into the wilderness, it is said here : "*To the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness.*" This reminds us at once of Exod. xix. 1-4, where Jehovah says to the people of Israel brought out of Egypt into the wilderness : "You have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on *eagles' wings*, and brought you unto myself." Thus the eagle flight is from Egypt into the wilderness, to the place prepared by God. What is to be understood in the Apocalypse by Egypt, is evident from the passage, xi. 8, the only one in our book where it occurs. The place where Christ was crucified, that is, Jerusalem, is there spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, in the same manner as the unfaithful church is afterwards called Babylon. Thus it is Jerusalem and Israel itself, which has become Egypt by its rejection of Christ ; out of her the true Church of God has to be brought, even as of old the Old Testament congregation out of the real Egypt ; and as in future God's people shall hear the

call, to come out of Babylon (Rev. xviii. 4). The flight of the Church into the wilderness is therefore her delivery from apostate Israel. For it is clear, from the words of the text, that the flying into the wilderness, xii. 4, and her flying with two wings, xii. 14, are not two separate facts, but only different designations, or perhaps gradations, of the same fact, in the history of the kingdom. Time and place are in both passages the same; in both, the passing of the woman into the wilderness is spoken of, where she is nourished in the same place prepared for her by God for the space of 1260 days, or three and a half times (years). The attention of John was diverted from the woman by the victory over the dragon, which he beholds and describes, ver. 7-13; but he returns once more to the wilderness, as the transition of the kingdom of God from Israel to the Gentiles is an extraordinary and important event. Instead of saying she fled, he uses the expression, two wings of a great eagle were given her to fly, and by this change of expression he intends to mark the more emphatically, that this deeply important turning-point in the history of the world and kingdom, is not to be viewed as arising out of human arbitrariness, or much less, out of human fear and despondency, but out of God's decree and His direct providence (Acts ix-xi.). The first expression refers, as to a type, to the flight of Mary with the child Jesus into Egypt (Matt. ii. 13), the other to the delivery of Israel out of Egypt. But when the expression does not merely say, in general, that the woman was taken into Egypt, but that *she has a place prepared for her by God* in the wilderness, this indicates that only a certain portion of the heathen world is destined to be received into the Church of God. We can only form a supposition from Daniel's statements, as to what place is meant, but we are told more distinctly in the course of the Revelations, it is the fourth kingdom of the world, which has its seat in the Babylon of that time, in Rome. The Acts of the Apostles gives us a grand comment upon this in the description it contains of the church's migration from Jerusalem to Rome. This was the object of the

whole activity of the Apostle Paul; as it is most forcibly expressed in the Epistle to the Romans, and in the Protection, which Roman government and institutions gave to him personally.¹ Moreover, let us attend to the expressions in our passage. The heathen world is not to *nourish* the Church. What nourishment could the wilderness offer? But the wilderness offers merely an outward shelter; with regard to nourishment, however, we have in ver. 14, only indefinitely the passive *θπου τρέφεται*; ver. 6, *ἵνα ἐκεῖ τρέφωσιν αὐτήν*. We have met the use of the third person plural in Daniel, and know that it refers to heavenly powers. The Church's life is nourished by the kind ministrations from on high; she lives in the wilderness, even as Israel, on manna from heaven; and like her Lord, from the word proceeding out of the mouth of God (Matt. iv. 4, comp. Rev. xii. 11, *διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν*), so that the devil's attempts are as unavailing in her case as in that of the Saviour (*ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὀφείας*, ver. 14, comp. ver. 11, *ἐνίκησαν αὐτόν*). But, though she finds no nourishment, yet she finds a refuge and an asylum in the Gentile world, even up to this day, "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." 1 Tim. ii. 2.

Let the Church, however, never forget that she is still in the world—in the ungodly world—which may, at any time, manifest her hostile spirit. This is expressed primarily by the time which is mentioned, that the stay in the wilderness should last (ver. 6 and 14). The three times, and half-a-time, or 1260 days, have, doubtless, an accurate chronological meaning, but it is impossible, at present, to arrive at it; the fulfilment alone will interpret the apocalyptic chronology, even as we saw in the case of the chronological statements of Daniel. At present we have solely to look to the symbolical meaning of the numbers in the Revelation of St John. We know the meaning of three and a half from Daniel, vii. 25; xii. 6, 7; ix. 27. It is the time of the world power, in

¹ Baumgarten. Apostolic History, vol. iii. p. 16 (Foreign Theological Library).

which the earthly kingdoms rule over the heavenly. The same number is again used in the Apocalypse to characterise the times of the Gentiles, during which Jerusalem is trodden down, and hence the kingdom of God has lost completely its external visible existence on earth—that is, the time from the Roman destruction of Jerusalem to the second coming of Christ. Compare Luke xxi. 24, and Rev. xi. 2, in both which passages, the treading of the holy city under foot of the Gentiles is spoken of, which is to last till, according to the first passage, the times of the Gentiles; according to the second, forty and two months ($3\frac{1}{2}$ years = 1260 days) are fulfilled. To these negative dates is added, in Rev. xiii. 5, the positive definition, according to which, the forty-two months designate the period of the power of the beast—that is, the world-power. The only remaining passage of our book, in which the 1260 days occur, is probably to be understood in the same light, but this will be shown in a subsequent part of our investigation.

We have thus seen that although the church finds a shelter in the heathen world, yet she is given into the hands of the power of the world; she stands under the protection, and also under the oppression of the worldly power; she is a suffering and militant church to this very day. This mixture of protection and oppression is the specific characteristic of the relation of the church to the power of the world during the church-historical period. In one part of this period the one element preponderates, in another the other; but in the end, the enmity and opposition of the world shall break forth, with great violence, against the church, Rev. xiii. 6, 7.

2. The further course of the vision, ver. 7, shows that the woman will not be spared conflicts in her new place of refuge. As the tempter came to Christ in the wilderness, even so he approaches also the woman. Hitherto we have only considered the first six verses of Rev. xii., and only glanced at verse 14, on account of its relation to verse 6. The contents of this first part of the chapter, we found to be the mighty change which passed

since Christ's coming in the Church of God on earth, in the transition from Israel to the Gentiles. But not only in the kingdom of God on earth, but also in heaven itself, has a great change been effected by the ascension of Christ (verses 5 and 10), which is of great importance for the church on earth, and is, for this reason, mentioned here, viz., the *casting out of the devil*. In the second part of the chapter (ver. 7-12), which we shall now examine, we cannot possibly find anything else but a description of the fact, known to us from other parts of Scripture, and especially the writings of St John, that the prince of this world is judged by the completion of Christ's work of reconciliation. According to 1 John iii. 8, for this purpose the Son of God, the *υἱὸς ἀληθῆν* was born, to destroy the works of the devil.

There are, then, three stages in the conflict of Christ and Satan. The first is the temptation in the wilderness. Being conquered there by the Lord, and utterly defeated, Satan departed from the person of Jesus for a time, or till a certain time (*ἄχρι καιροῦ*, Luke iv. 13), and assaulted those who were near Christ, in order thus to oppose the Saviour's work. Hence the many possessed of devils at that time, and the driving out of devils by Christ and His disciples. This is the second stage of the conflict. Here, also, the Son remained always conqueror, and proved himself the stronger, who could bind the strong man (Luke xi. 20, 22). On one of those occasions, Christ uttered a saying to which our passage in Revelations bears resemblance (Luke x. 18), when the seventy disciples tell Him, with joy, that even the devils were subject to them through His name; He said unto them, "I beheld Satan fall from heaven like lightning." Those victories over the enemy showed Him in Spirit the full victory over Satan—in the same manner as the prophets behold the fulfilment in the germ, the end of history in the historical development. The third stage in which the victory is consummated, is the sufferings and death, the resurrection and ascension of Jesus. This is your hour, and the power of darkness, Christ says to his enemies (Luke xxii. 53). But Satan tries to sift, also, Christ's friends like wheat (Luke

xxii. 31); and we know how he succeeded in the case of Peter, and especially in the case of Judas (Luke xxii. 3; John xiii. 2, 27). Only in Jesus himself, whom he now tempts by the terrors of the world, as he had before by the lust of the world, he had, and found nothing (John xiv. 30). On the contrary, he is judged, and cast out (*ἐκβαλεθήσεται ἔξω*) by Christ's obedience unto death, as the Lord says, using again an expression resembling that in the Revelations (John xvi. 11; xii. 31; comp. Heb. ii. 14); and His resurrection and ascension is a public solemn triumph over the principalities and powers of death (Col. ii. 15).

The last quoted passage is a key to our verse. What Paul expresses here, with holy joy, in a didactic form, John saw in a prophetic vision. The devil is now cast out of heaven, after the Son is raised to the throne of God, ver. 5. The archangel, Michael, is appointed the executor of the judgment. For, according to Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, he, among the high angelic princes, is the angel to whom is intrusted the defence of God's Church against the opposing powers in the invisible world of spirits. He had fought before then with the devil about the body of the mediator of the old covenant (Jude 9). But now, when the Mediator of the new covenant had, of His own free will, offered His own body as His sacrifice, it is possible for the angel to resume the old combat, and with altogether different success. We have dwelt at large on these conflicts in the spirit-world, in our discussion of Daniel x. Michael and his angels overcome the resisting devil and his angels, and cast the dark powers and principalities of heaven to the earth (ver. 7-9).

In the next verse it is said, "neither was their place found any more (*ἐν*) in heaven," and this presupposes that hitherto, up to the ascension of Christ, *the demons were in heaven* like the other angels, and that, like them, they influenced earth from their abodes in heaven, in which there are many mansions. As heaven was not yet opened to man before Christ, so it was not yet shut against the devils. This is confirmed by the other Holy Scriptures, specially the Old Testament. In Job i. 6, ii. 1,

we see Satan appear among the other sons of God before Jehovah—(compare also 1 Kings xxii. 19–22), in the same way he stands beside the angel of Jehovah (Zech. iii. 1, 2). In both cases he is represented as the accuser of his brethren (Rev. xii. 10). In the latter passage he wishes to accuse the high priest, Joshua, and Jerusalem, and Israel, that their guilt was not yet atoned, and that they were therefore unworthy of the mercy which the Lord had shown them in leading them out of the captivity (Zech. iii. 3–6, 9). In the former passage he accuses the pious Job, that even he was not a just man, and receives permission from God to tempt him to the uttermost. As long as the blood of reconciliation was not actually shed, that atonement, which is opposed (Zech. iii. 8, 9) to the accusations of Satan, but only in the shape of a promise, Satan possessed still a right over men, and could plead this, his right, before God day and night (Rev. xii 10, κατηγορῶν, imperfect). Hence it follows, that he was in heaven till the ban of sin and death, resting on humanity, was broken. We find this view corroborated in the New Testament. The saying of the Lord Jesus, quoted above, that He saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning, rests on the same supposition. Connect with this a passage, which has caused great perplexity to commentators, but which may be easily explained from this point of view, viz., Col. i. 20. The apostle endeavours here, to prove the superior dignity of Christ as compared to the angels, because the Colossian false teachers derogated from this dignity by their doctrines concerning the world of spirits and Aeons; (ii. 10, 18); Paul has shown, ver. 15–17, that all creatures, the heavenly powers as well as the creatures of earth, owe their existence to the creative agency of Christ. In ver. 18–20, he treats of the second chief activity of Christ, the atonement, and shows that, also, in this respect, the whole universe, in its two great divisions, the world of earth and of heaven, owe to Christ alone the restoration of harmony after the conflict which had been introduced, owe to Him the harmonious subjugation of all things under One Head. The juxtaposition of αὐτός and τὰ πάντα

which characterises the sixteenth and seventeenth verses, meets us therefore again in the twentieth, *δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα*; and after the intermediate clause, he continues, *δι' αὐτοῦ εἶτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἶτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. Sin introduced discord and conflict, not only on earth, but also in heaven, by the fall of demons.¹ And as little as it was possible for man to restore peace on earth, so little was this possible for the angels in heaven. The good angels were not able of themselves to overcome the peace-disturbers, to cast out the devils, and also for them it is only *διναῖ*, through Christ, that it was effected. It is the blood of the cross which restored peace, even in heaven (*εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ*); it is only now, after Christ has obtained the victory fully and legally, that Michael and his angels are able to cast Satan and his servants out of heaven. Only this view, which is corroborated by the other passage of the Epistle to the Colossians (ii. 15), enables us to see the striking force of the Pauline argumentation, in showing us the entire dependence of the angels on Christ. Only thus can we explain satisfactorily the context and the repetition of the expression *δι' αὐτοῦ*.

Thus, the event described in the verses under consideration, is an essential turning-point in the history of the prince and the kingdom of darkness. For of such a history Holy Scripture, and specially the Apocalypse, gives us an outline. That history consists of an ever deeper downfall, in four gradations or periods. The first extends to the first coming of Christ. In this period the devil not only rules on earth, but is also still in heaven; his power is not yet broken; the Old Testament Theocracy is not furnished with the weapons for overcoming the enemy.

¹ Compare Kurtz Bibel und Astronomie, 3 Aufl., p. 229:—"The fall of the angels and the fall of man brought curse and destruction into the region of the terrestrial world, and also into the celestial spheres; into the abodes of the holy angels this twofold catastrophe introduced, though not positive disturbance, yet privative loss, a retardation of their highest and most perfect development, harmonious gradation, and perfect consummation."

The second period is from Christ to the commencement of the millennium; then Satan is cast out of heaven to earth, where he exercises yet free power. Of this we shall speak presently.

The third period embraces the millennium. The enemy is bound; and as he was cast out of heaven to earth, he is now cast into the bottomless pit, and rendered harmless (Rev. **xx.** 1-3).

After having been let loose for a little while, he is (fourthly) judged and cast for ever and ever into the lake of fire (Rev. **xx.** 7-10; Matt. **xxv.** 41; 1 Cor. **vi.** 3). Thus the whole history which the Apocalypse gives us of Satan, is a continual succession of his being cast out, hurled down (*βληθῆναι*, **xii.** 9, **xx.** 3, 10.)

The event spoken of in our passage commences the second period in the history of the devil. Its essential character is described by the heavenly voice (Rev. **xii.** 10-12). Satan had been hitherto in undisputed possession of his power; but now it is taken from him. Victory, salvation (*σωτηρία*, comp. **vii.** 10, **xix.** 1, as the Hebrew *יְשׁוּעָה*, which the Septuagint translate *σωτηρία*; for example, 2 Sam. **xxiii.** 10, 12, and the German *Heil*, meaning in general, fortune, well-being, victory), and strength, and the kingdom of our God is now come, *the power is become now of His Christ*. Christ can say now, To me is given all power in heaven and on earth (Matt. **xxviii.** 18), (*ἐξουσία*); and the Christian can say, God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son (Col. **i.** 13, the same expression, *ἐξουσία* and *βασιλεία*). The devil has lost his power and place in heaven, and chiefly for this reason, because (*ὅτι*) he *can no longer accuse men before God*, because men are Christ's brothers, and in Him brothers of the heavenly angels. For now Christ our advocate is in heaven, who overcomes our accuser, even by the blood of reconciliation, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, this primeval witness, crying to heaven against man's sin (1 John **ii.** 1, 2; Heb. **vii.** 25, **viii.** 1, **xii.** 24). Satan has been

overcome, inasmuch as all legal demands are satisfied, and so completely, that Paul leads us into the heavenly court of justice, in which no accusations are any more received against the elect of God, but absolution is pronounced continually, by God, the Supreme Judge, over all who have a share in the intercession of Christ (Rom. viii. 33, 34). This is more fully expressed in the passage before us. The Christians have overcome the enemy on the ground of (*διὰ* cum accus.) the blood of the Lamb, by which the curse of Satan, resting on humanity, is broken, and free access opened to God; and on the ground of the word of their witness, by which they confess themselves before all the world as worshippers of the Lamb slain for sin. We find this expression of victory, *ἐνίκησαν*, used in the same way in the First Epistle of John; our faith is the victory, which has overcome the world (*νικήσασα*), you have overcome the evil one, ii. 13, 14 (comp. iv. 4), doubtless in allusion to the word with which Christ concludes his parting address to the disciples, which must needs have impressed itself indelibly on the soul of the beloved disciple, "I have overcome the world" (John xvi. 33). This *νικᾶν* is in general a peculiarly Johannean expression, which occurs six times in the first epistle, sixteen times in the Apocalypse, while it occurs only three times in the rest of the New Testament (Luke xi. 22; Rom. iii. 4 and xii. 21). This is characteristic of John's whole mode of viewing the gospel, the fundamental idea of which is the conflict of the antitheses, and the victory of light over darkness; for it is the same struggle and victory which the gospel of John describes in the life of Jesus, and the Apocalypse in the life of His Church.¹ But in order to overcome the world and its prince, in the strength of the blood of Christ, it is necessary that we also should, like the Saviour, be willing to give up what of this world still belongs to us and our earthly life (John xii. 24; Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24). They have not loved their life, even unto death.

¹ Comp. Luthardt, das Johannische Evangelium, i. 68.

Thus, in 1 John ii. 14, 15, immediately after saying, You have overcome the world, the command is added, Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.

The heavens, and the inhabitants thereof, are now called upon to rejoice (ver. 12), that the evil one is cast out and overcome. Among the inhabitants of heaven, we may include also the members of Christ, since they are brothers of the heavenly spirits, since their home and citizenship are in heaven, yea, they are themselves called heavenly (Phil. iii. 20 ; 1 Cor. xv. 48). They rejoice truly with the angels of heaven over the judgment of the devil ; for they are saved from the world, and the power of the prince of the world, and to them applies the word with which John explains our whole passage : He that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and the wicked one toucheth him not (1 John v. 18). *But woe to them who still belong to the world*, and trust to her power or her culture (sea, earth)! They are now more than ever a prey to the temptations of the devil ; for he is judged only as accuser, not yet as tempter. Furious at his overthrow, and knowing that he must yet sink deeper, he concentrates all his strength to ruin as many souls as possible. The more light becomes victorious, the greater are the exertions and efforts of darkness ; and the devil, now cast down to earth, shall succeed at some future time to enrage and strengthen the powers of the earth, and then they shall manifest fully the spirit of antichrist. Satan reigns now in the earthly air region (Eph. ii. 2), and goes about on earth like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour (1 Pet. v. 8) ; he is still, as he was before, god of this world (2 Cor. iv. 4) ; and only they who are in Christ, and in proportion as they are rooted in Christ, are secure from his assaults. But the two different spheres are not separated by any external boundary mark ; to belong to Christ is something invisible, inward, pneumatic, and does not correspond with the belonging to any outward human society. Christendom is yet on earth, and therefore subject to the attacks of the devil. He sows tares among the wheat (Matt. xiii. 25, 38). He who is not a sincere

member of the Church, and gives room to the spirit of the world, is brought to fall by Satan. Hence the struggle, which even believers have continually to fight with the devil (Eph. vi. 11). They have overcome him; but on the ground of this fundamental victory obtained over him, it is their duty ever again to fight against and overcome him, even as they who once die with Christ have continually to mortify their members which are upon earth (Col. iii. 3, 5; comp. Romans vi. 2-14). Herein lies the overwhelming earnestness of the period into which our life falls.

3. We find thus, in the two first parts of our chapter, a description of the New Testament state of things, the state of John's time, both as regards the kingdom of God or the Church (ver. 1-6), and as regards the kingdom of darkness (7-12). The third part (ver. 13-17) shows the relation of the two kingdoms from that time onwards, describes the efforts of the dragon against the woman. He *persecutes* her (ver. 13), and under these persecutions we must understand all the hostilities against the young Church, of which Jews and Gentiles were guilty. Notwithstanding their enmity, the Church gains by degrees a secure and firm *place* (ver. 14); the Roman political and juridical constitution always gave protection, as to the Apostle Paul, so also to the Church, notwithstanding all persecutions, till emperor and empire became finally Christian. The expression, great eagle, may perhaps be referred to the power of the world; the Roman eagle, as *Bengel* understands by it, "the mightiest power, whose protection and help the Church has enjoyed," especially on account of the addition "great," according to Ezek. xvii. 3, 7, where the kings of Babylon and Egypt are designated in the same way, the first of whom appears in Dan. vii. 4, with wings of an eagle. It is the very power which was before hostile, which becomes in God's hand a protecting power; for Christ rules in the midst of His enemies (Ps. cx. 2). Notwithstanding this, the whole Gentile-Christian, or Church-historical period, is, according to the view of biblical prophecy, only an

intermediate time, like the forty years in the *wilderness*, a wandering of the Church through the wilderness to the Holy Land, where in the kingdom of the millennium, the full life and the true glory corresponding to the Christian's spiritual state, will manifest and develop itself. We are redeemed, but Canaan is yet in the hands of the enemy; the heritage is not yet taken possession of; the time of the wilderness, of our pilgrimage and sojourning (1 Pet. i. 17, ii. 11; Heb. iv. 9, xiii. 14; 2 Cor. v. 6, 7; 1 John iii. 2), is given in order to produce a new regenerate generation for the time of glory.

Hence, the enmity of the devil does not decrease. The Church spreads and takes root in the place prepared for her by God, in the Roman empire; but the serpent casts out of his mouth *water as a flood* after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood (ver. 15). This flood of water, according to the interpretation given to xvii. 15, refers undoubtedly to the streams of the migrations of nations. The Germanic tribes were to destroy the Roman empire, and thereby, according to Satan's plans, also Christianity. But the *earth helped the woman*, by swallowing up the flood of nations (ver. 16). We know that the earth signifies, in contradistinction to water, the world as already consolidated, civilized. The cultured Roman world received the wild Germanic masses, subdued and mollified their hostility, and reconciled them to Christianity, which is regarded here, as we see, not so much in its heavenly aspect as in its earthly, as a power of civilisation. When the German nations permitted the influence of the Roman civilisation and church, the continued existence of the true congregation of God was thereby rendered secure.¹

Thus, also, this plan of the devil against the woman is de-

¹ In accordance with this view, *Lange*: "The devil cast out water as a flood after the Church, the stream of the nations baptized, compulsorily, and the masses of the migrating nations. But the earth, that is, consolidated ecclesiastical and political order, devoured the stream, amalgamated with itself the wild tribes." Geezer's protest. Monatsbe. Aug. 1853. p. 84.

feated, and she has gained a doubly secured position in the world of civilized nations. Satan sees that he must pursue a different course, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against the Church as a whole, and, therefore, he goes to make war *with the remnant of her seed*, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ (ver. 17). Thus, after he had to give up his hope of destroying Christianity, the true Christians are continually the object of his persecution and enmity, even to this day (John xv. 18). The expression *λοιποι* contains an indication, that the more the Church conforms to the world, the more it will be true of her, as it was once of Israel, that only a remnant, an elect, still remains of whom it can be said, that they are the seed of the woman, that they keep the commandments of God, and that they have the testimony of Jesus. Only such are the objects of Satan's enmity and persecution; the others he leaves unmolested.

At this point the vision breaks off. John was not to write Church history, but only to characterise the position of the church in the midst of heathens, by sketching the leading events of the future. This position consists, on the one hand, in the external protection of the Roman and Germanic civilisation and political organization; on the other, the serpent succeeds in bruising the heel of the seed of the woman, and although the attacks made *en masse* (among which we may reckon also Mohammedanism) are of no avail, yet the individual Christians are the more exposed to the assaults of Satan, the more they truly belong to the seed of the woman. The Church of Christ is in no way to look forward to a time of external rest and quiet. On the contrary, this is the chief danger threatening her, that the state of well-being in the world to which she has attained, according to verse 16, might weaken the chaste spiritual-mindedness which becomes her as a stranger and pilgrim on earth, and seduce her to conform to the world. The devil is still opposing her as the tempter. His violence was unsuccessful, but it remains yet for him to try his cunning; to tempt not with

the terrors but the allurements of the world, even as he tempted our Lord in the wilderness. He attacks the Church with this temptation, and the woman does not resist and overcome it. We find her again in the seventeenth chapter as a harlot.

b. The Beast with Seven Heads and Ten Horns.

We must now consider the beast described immediately after the woman (xii. 18—xiii. 10). It is by this symbolic image that the Apocalypse is mainly connected with Daniel, and it is our first object to trace this connection. St John himself points it out in a threefold manner in the two first verses of the thirteenth chapter. His beast rises up out of the sea as the four beasts of Daniel, it has ten horns like Daniel's fourth beast; finally, it is composed of lion, bear, and leopard, that is, of the Danielic beasts. The fourth beast, it is true, is not mentioned, because it cannot be compared with any other, but it is indicated by the ten horns. This simple consideration shows us, what we are to understand by the beast of the Apocalypse, it is a comprehensive representation, in one figure, of the world-power, which in Daniel is symbolised by four beasts. As the woman means the kingdom of God absolutely, so the beast stands for the world-power absolutely, through all times, not merely in any particular period of its development in history, but from the time when the opposition between the kingdom of God and the world commenced to exist on earth. Even as John does not understand by the woman, merely the New Testament Church, so the beast does not refer exclusively to the world-kingdom of that period, the Roman, much less to a previous or subsequent phase of the Roman empire. Against such a view, and in favour of ours, the following three arguments may be adduced :—

1. The description of the beast. It includes expressly the former world-monarchies—lion, bear, leopard; nor can it be

asserted, that John conceived of the fourth beast in Daniel, as consisting of a combination of the preceding three. Daniel himself describes the appearance of the fourth, and if this fourth beast was to be revealed to John to the exclusion of the other three, nothing could have been less appropriate than to include in the description the three preceding ones. Neither can it be maintained, that the first three kingdoms are to be represented as incorporated into the Roman; if so, it remains to be explained why, in the chapter of Daniel, the lion is not represented as incorporated into the bear; and the first two beasts into the third, the leopard, and especially the first three into the fourth. Thus the only natural explanation of Rev. xiii. 2 is, that the beast represents the world-power in general, according to its various successive world-monarchies, which we find, of course, in the seven heads.

2. This is corroborated by the analogy of the woman. As the woman refers back to the election of Israel, so also the beast. For the mystery of the woman and the mystery of the beast are connected with each other (Rev. xvii. 7). Now, in the case of the woman, prophecy manifestly refers back to the past, as xii. 1-5 plainly enough shows; this is still more the case here, where it is said (xvii. 10) that five of the seven heads of the beast are fallen.

Add to this, 3, that the beast is represented as the image of the devil. Satan is described in xii. 3, where he is mentioned the first time, as a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. We did not speak of this symbol in our remarks on chapter xii., reserving it for this place, since it evidently stands in connection with the beast, which has likewise seven heads and ten horns. This is a symbolic indication of what John has thus expressed in words: And the dragon gave him (that is the beast) his power, and his seat, and great authority (xiii. 2). The devil is, so to say, the original type of the beast nature, for which reason, he appears here in the shape of the beast, the dragon, or

serpent (xii. 9). The fundamental idea of St John, that Satan is the prince of the world, in whom the whole world exists and continues, who has, moreover, to dispense authority over the worldly kingdoms, is thus symbolically expressed here (John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11; 1 John v. 19; comp. Luke iv. 6). This prominence given to Satan is a peculiar characteristic of all the writings of John; they contain not only the deepest revelations concerning the Divine Being, but also disclose to us the most distant background of the world and its history. But if the beast is the exact picture of the dragon, it follows that it represents the world-power, not in this or that individual manifestation, but in its abstract totality. For example, if the seven heads of the beast should mean seven Roman emperors, one cannot understand why they, and they alone, should be mentioned in the original image of the devil, whereas, it is perfectly intelligible, if we suppose them to represent the power of the devil on earth, viewed collectively. The whole world lieth in the wicked one, says John, 1 John v. 19 (*ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ* masc. as ver. 18th, opposite, *ἐκ τοῦ ὁσίου*); ours is a parallel passage.

Comparing this representation of the world-power to that of Daniel, we notice progression in many points, corresponding to the relation of the New Testament to the Old. 1. John represents in one beast what in Daniel is divided into four. The great image mentioned in the second chapter of Daniel, does indeed represent the world-power as a whole, but even here the individual parts are dwelt on with more emphasis than the unity of the image. What in the Old Testament stands isolated and in a more external form, is condensed in the New Testament into unity of essence and principle. Thus, the different world-monarchies appear to John only as evolutions of the self-same God-opposed principle, which entered the world by the fall, and afterwards by the building of the tower of Babel; heads of the same beast, which is opposed with brutal violence to the woman, even as to lie in the wicked one is op-

posed to being of God. John is more anxious to characterise the whole in its essence, than to describe the individual world-powers; he is satisfied with the general designation of heads, after the precedent of the four heads of the leopard, in Dan. vii. 6. Most of them belong to the past, and had been described by Daniel and other prophets of the Old Covenant; the only power which lies in the future of John, the Germanic, is, as we shall point out, subsequently characterised very profoundly, by being described as a head wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed.

2. Daniel enumerates only four kingdoms; John sees seven. This also has a deep reason. Four is the number of the world, Seven the number of God's revelation in the world. The four Danielic beasts are, as we have seen, caricatures of the four cherubs of Ezekiel, whereas the seven apocalyptic heads of the beast correspond to the seven spirits of God (Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; v. 6). The sevenfoldness of the spirits on the part of God corresponds to the cherubim on the part of the created (*Hofmann* Schriftbeweis i. 335). John has thus a deeper insight into the God-opposed essential character of the world, and he beholds it in its extreme development. The world-power attributes to itself even the Spirit of God; self-deification in all its intensity is its characteristic. The four beasts retain yet the feeling of some Power, ruling and governing above them, but here God is altogether identified with the world, and the world caricaturing reality, sets itself up as God. This is likewise evinced in this, that there was given to the beast a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemy, and to make war with the saints (Rev. xiii. 5-7), a feature which in Daniel is attributed only to the antichristian horn.

3. Finally, we must mention, that now also the devil is introduced as the type and author of the world-power, whereas in the Old Testament, the glimpses given into the invisible world are more indistinct.

True, in our remarks on Daniel, we allowed the light given us

by the New Testament teaching to fall upon and illumine his disclosures. The two things are closely connected, that the beast is an image of the devil, and that its development is a caricaturing of the seven spirits of God. For the devil is himself the imitator of God; his seven heads are the caricatures of the spirits before God, while, again, the ten horns represent the world-element. It is symbolical of the self-contradictions of the devil and his kingdom, that they bear both the number seven and ten.

That the world has no right to usurp the number seven, and thus to designate its development as a revelation of God, the Apocalypse points out in a twofold way, first, by the addition of an eighth to the seven heads or kings (xvii. 11); secondly, by this, that the proper number of the beast is only 666 (xiii. 18). Thus, the number of the beast is not seven, but six and eight; it hovers round the divine, touches it, but never reaches it. With regard to the number 666 in particular, which is spoken of in the only passage in which it occurs as the *number of the beast*, κατ' ἐξοχήν, it certainly has, as all apocalyptic numbers, its special and exact chronological signification; but only the final fulfilment can throw distinct light on this. Now, at present our object is only to investigate its symbolic meaning (comp. Lange in Herzog's Realencyclopedia, i. p. 375), and we would lay before the reader the following remarks on this point, though we are conscious of their imperfection. Two points must be explained, first, the meaning of the number six in itself, and, secondly, the reason of its occurring in the place of units, tens, and hundreds. In the Apocalypse we find a pause between the sixth and seventh seals, as well as between the sixth and seventh trumpets; thus teaching us to view the number six in its character as close neighbour to the number seven. The judgments on the world are complete in the number six, whereas, by the fulfilment of the number seven, "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord" (Rev. xi. 15). Six is the number of the world given over to judgment. We are led to the same

result by remembering that six is the half of twelve, as three and a half is the half of seven. For twelve is the number of the Church of God, as we know from the twelve stars round the woman's head, the twelve gates and foundations of the New Jerusalem; in the same way, as three and a half correspond to seven, so does six compared to twelve symbolise the communion or kingdom of the world, as broken, incomplete, wanting a solid foundation. The threefold appearance of six in higher powers ($6 + 60 + 600$) indicates, that the beast, notwithstanding its progression to higher powers, can only rise to greater ripeness for judgment. This development of the number six corresponds to the development of the number twelve, which we find in the 144,000 sealed ones, the judged world-power opposed to the transfigured Church taken out of the judgment. There may also be a relation to the thousand years (Rev. xx.), as 666 is two-thirds of a thousand. The number thousand symbolises, that the world is perfectly leavened and pervaded by the divine; since thousand is ten, the number of the world raised to the power of three, the number of God. The antichrist likewise promises, as we saw above, this blessedness of a millennial kingdom; but he cannot attain to it, he has to stop half-way. The apocalyptic spiritual eye always sees the world as already judged.

• Let us now turn our attention to the *seven heads and ten horns*. There is a slight difference here between the original and the copy. Dragon and beast bear crowns (*διαδήματα*), but the former on the heads, the latter on the horns (xii. 3; xiii. 1). Hereby we learn that both heads and horns refer to kingdoms, as it is said of both, in the explanatory passage, xvii. 7, that they are kings (ix. and xii.),—the kings representing, as with Daniel, the kingdoms, whose personal heads they are. But the original image has the crowns upon the heads; whence, it is clear that the chief emphasis lies on the crowns, that it is they that represent the chief kingdoms, which lies in the very nature of things, since the horns are upon the heads as parts of the same. This unequal importance of heads and horns is, moreover, indicated by

the explanatory passage, which says of the latter only, that they are ten kings, but of the former, they are *seven hills and seven kings*. The seven hills may contain an allusion to the seven hills of Rome, in which the world-power was concentrated in the days of John; yet this is at most a passing allusion, which ought not to be looked upon as the proper meaning of the passage. Such a trivial geographical notice could scarcely follow the introductory remark of the angel, viz.: And here is the mind which hath wisdom (xvii. 9), which words, as we shall show subsequently, demand expressly the mystical exposition. Besides, it would be against all analogy to understand by the heads of the beast mountains, in the concrete sense; and finally, if so, two different explanations are given, in one and the same passage, to the same symbol; they are, in the first place, seven kings, and in the second, seven mountains. What relation is there between mountains and kings? There evidently must be an inward connection between hills and kings, and we can easily arrive at this connection if we view the significance of mountains in prophetic language. The connection of head and mountain is apparent; as the head occupies a prominent, commanding position in the body, so does the mountain in the land, so that mountains are often called heads.¹ We must take the designation mountain in connection with the symbolical expressions already known to us, sea and earth (Ps. lxxv. 7-9; Hab. iii. 10, 12); thus, mountain refers to prominent authority and power in the world. Mountains are seats of power; this is the simple connection between them and kings. The seven kings are distinguished from the ten, represented by the horns, which are simply called βασιλεις, as peculiarly powerful kings—the great powers of the world. Thus, in Dan. vii., the stone becomes a mountain—that is, a universal kingdom taking the place of the preceding world-kingdoms. "Mountains," *Schmieder* remarks, in connection with Isaiah ii. 2, "signify, in symbolical language in general, the seats of gods and kings, especially of false gods and godless potentates,

¹ Katzenkopf, Schnee-Koppe, Kuppe, Cape, etc.

who require to be humbled." In itself, the expression is a *vox media*—a designation of power, both divine (Zion), and also worldly. Often we find the mountains of the world put in opposition to the mountain of God; for example, in the passage just mentioned, Isa. ii. 2; Ps. lxviii. 16, 17; Ezek. xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 15. Thus we find in Jeremiah li. 24, 25, that Babylon, the seat of the world-power, is contrasted with Mount Zion, a destroying mountain, which destroyeth all the earth! And in Isaiah xli. 15, etc., the overthrow of the world-kingdoms by the kingdom of God, is described in expressions which remind us of Dan. ii. 35, as a threshing the mountains, and beating them small by Israel, which is made a threshing-instrument. In Hab. iii. 6, the everlasting mountains are compared to the heathen nations. And, accordingly, in Rev. xvii. 9, the symbolic expression of heads is explained, first, by that of mountains, which is more familiar to the reader of prophecy, and, afterwards, both are openly explained by βασιλείς. The mountains stand in the same relation to the kings, as in verse 15 the waters where the whore sitteth do to the peoples; as little as the waters are to be taken literally, so little are the mountains.

To enter now into further detail, the ten horns we saw in Daniel mean the last phase of the worldly power; they belong to the last kingdom, which is divided into ten parts: they are likewise connected with the seventh head, which the angel intimates, xvii. 12, by saying of the ten horns, that they have received no kingdom as yet, just as he said of the seventh king, who is of such importance that he is not yet come. It is impossible to give a more minute designation of the ten kingdoms, since, at least in their tenfold appearance, they are as yet in the future. But we can name the *seven heads*; they are the seven universal monarchies, under the last of which we live. The names of blasphemy on the head denote the God-opposed character of these kingdoms. It is true that the horns stand for cotemporary kingdoms, and, according to the analogy of the four-headed leopard in Daniel vii. 6, we would naturally expect the same in

the case of the heads here. But such a supposition the Apocalypse has rendered impossible, by stating that, of the seven monarchies five belong to the past, one to the present, and one to the future, from the stand-point of the Apocalyptic, xvii. 10, thus plainly showing that the kingdoms follow one another. It is not difficult to find out, with the assistance of Daniel and the other prophets, what kingdoms are meant. We have first the four Danielic kingdoms; but here they become five, because the then present kingdom is distinguished from the future one, the Germanic. A distinction indicated by Daniel himself, in whose image of monarchies the fourth consists of two perfectly different materials, iron and clay, and the whole, consequently of five materials. But we have already seen that the Apocalypse not only extends the horizon further into the future than the prophecies of Daniel, and looks even into the new heaven and the new earth, but that it likewise looks further back into the past, and surveying the world-historical conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world, commences, not with the time of Daniel, but with the time when the two conflicting powers first manifested themselves on earth. The first world-power which came into conflict with the Jewish theocracy, even during the time of Abraham, and especially when the theocracy commenced to exist as a proper kingdom and nation in the time of Moses, is *Egypt*. After the Egyptian monarchy, follows the Assyrian, as predecessor of the Babylonian (Jer. i. 17). Israel was implicated in the struggles of Egypt and Assyria, as it was afterwards in those of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ. It is remarkable how often, for this reason, Assyria and Egypt are mentioned together, by the prophets, as the world-powers with whom the people of God committed fornication, and by the older prophets, as representatives of the world-power in general (1 Kings xvii. 4; Hos. vii. 11; Micah vii. 12; Isa. lii. 4; xix. 23-25; Jer. ii. 18, 36; Zech. x. 10). To these two powers is added, in the two chapters of Ezekiel, which are of the utmost importance for the understanding of the name harlot (Ezek. xvi. 26-29; xxiii. 3, 5,

and 14), the third world-power, with which Israel committed fornication, Chaldea or Babylon, which connects the two older kingdoms with the series given by Daniel. Thus the heads which were fallen are the following five : 1. Egypt ; 2. Assyria ; 3. Babylon ; 4. Medo-Persia ; 5. Greece ; the Roman is the sixth, and the Germanic-Sclavonic kingdom the seventh.

We need not offer any remarks on xiii. 3-10, since it finds its elucidation in what we have already said concerning the symbolism of beasts in the book of Daniel. In ver. 1-3, we have a description of the appearance of the beast ; in ver. 3 and 4, we are told the impression, which the appearance makes upon earth—all the world wonders after the beast, worships its power, and consequently the devil ; ver. 5-7, the beast develops its essential character in words and deeds—enmity against God and His saints. In ver. 8, the tense changes into the future. The homage described in ver. 4, will be paid also in future by all who are earthly-minded (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* opposed to *οἱ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦντες*, v. 6 ; xii. 12), who do not belong to the elect, and who are not willing to receive life from the Lamb slain. Ver. 9 and 10 contain exhortations and warnings corresponding to the prophecy ; ver. 9 contains a general one ; ver. 10, first a warning addressed to the persecuting children of the world ; secondly, a word for the children of light during their sufferings. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints. This is to be the motto and watchword of the elect, during this whole period of the world-kingdom.

II. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD-POWER.

In chap. xiii. 11-18, there follows a description of the second beast, the false prophet, of whom we shall speak subsequently. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters describe the preparations prior to the Messianic judgment ; and we take this opportunity of surveying them briefly, as they afford no

points of comparison with Daniel. They consist of two divisions, chap. xiv., and chap. xv. and xvi. Both begin with John's vision of the perfected saints in heaven—the hundred and forty-four thousand of Israel (xiv. 1–5, comp. vii. 4–8), and those who have overcome from among the Gentiles (xv. 1–5, comp. vii. 9–17). They who are the divine kernel of humanity, the positive fruits of the history of the world and the Church, rescued from destruction, and partakers of life, are placed in opposition to, and before the judgments, which descend from heaven on the apostate church and world—even as light is opposed to darkness, and heaven to earth; the view of their blessedness is to console at the sight of such awful judgment; they sing hymns of praise, and ascribe honour to the God of judgment. In the fourteenth chapter then follow announcements of judgments (ver. 6–12), and descriptions of judgment (13–20). The announcements are threefold; first a general one by the angel, bringing the glad tidings of the coming of the eternal kingdom, Dan. vii. 14, or having the everlasting gospel (ver. 6–7); then a special judgment is announced upon the Babylonian harlot, here mentioned for the first time, ver. 8, and upon the beast and its worshippers, ver. 9–12. To this is added the vision of the harvest, representing Christ, at His appearing to judge, taking the faithful to their home and abode, ver. 14–16; for which reason the glorious word concerning believers who have fallen asleep previous to this event (ver. 13), is prefixed to this description, while the autumn represents the judgment of wrath upon the apostate. The fifteenth and sixteenth chapters contain the seven vials of wrath, which are the immediate precursors, the birth pangs of the final judgment upon the beast (xvi. 2, 10), and the Babylonian harlot (xvi. 19).

The section, chap. xvii.–xix., demands a more minute investigation. The seventeenth chapter describes the harlot and the beast, ripe for judgment; the eighteenth chapter contains the judgment which falls on the harlot; the nineteenth, that which falls on the beast, and its spiritual ally, the false prophet. The

symbols occurring in these chapters thus show us the final state at which the symbols of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters, with which they are identical, have arrived, in the course of history, through its ages, to the end; they represent the result of the world-historical, and church-historical development. This result is the fruit which has matured, by degrees, during these centuries, which are therefore included in these final figures. Thus we have here a sketch of the outlines, as well as a description of the chief powers of the history of the world and the Church; and the congregation of Christ's believers in this world possesses in these chapters all she requires to know during the times of the Gentiles, which are unilluminated by the light of revelation.

a. The Great Harlot Babylon.

The harlot, as described in the seventeenth chapter, and introduced by this appellation in xiv. 8, xvi. 19, has occurred before in the Revelation. She is identical with the woman, who, we saw in chap. xii., is a symbolical representation of the Church of God in the world. This woman has become a harlot. The harlot is, consequently, not the city of Rome—such a view seems to be favoured by some passages, when taken literally; but it is totally at variance with the spirit of this thoroughly symbolical book. The Apocalypse has prepared the right interpretation, by one single expression, and this expression is *πνευματικῶς* (ch. xi. 8). Jerusalem, the representative of the Old Testament Church, is called, *spiritually*, not literally and outwardly, not judged with the judgment of man and flesh, but *πνευματικῶς ἀνακρινομένη*, viewed with spiritual eyes, measured by God's standard, Sodom and Egypt, that is, she has become like the godless and doomed world-city and world-power, because she rejected the Lord and crucified Him. In like manner, is

the New Testament Church, is Christendom called (after the world-city) Bābylon, Rome, because she has forsaken Christ, and given her love to this present world. To the expression, *πνευματικῶς*, corresponds, in this respect, another word, which is written upon the harlot's forehead, the word *μυστήριον*, Mystery. This word occurs only once in the New Testament, in the mouth of our Saviour (Mark iv. 11); but it is used by Paul, and in the Apocalypse. It always, and without exception, designates a subject, which is hidden to the unassisted reason and eye of man, and can only be seen by a special divine revelation (comp. Rom. xvi. 25; 1 Cor. ii. 7-10; Eph. iii. 3-5; Rom. xi. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 51). Thus it designates, in the Revelation of St John, in contradistinction to the objects of outward perception (i. 20), or the objects perceived by unassisted reason (x. 7), something deeper, which was in the spirit's mind, and is therefore understood only by the spirit of man, when illumined from above, by the mind which has received the wisdom from on high. Hence we meet here, and in connection with the word mystery, a third expression, by which the Apocalypse itself points out a spiritual mystical interpretation of her image. "Here is wisdom" (xiii. 18, xvii. 9). We find these three ideas connected in like manner by Paul, when he says (1 Cor. ii. 7, 10), *λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ ἣν ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ*, afterwards using the expression, *πνευματικῶς*. The inscription, then, which the harlot bears on her forehead, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, warns us, by its very first words, not to adopt a literal interpretation of the words which follow, but to look for a spiritual one. Such an one is not obtained, however, by putting the city of Rome instead of the city of Babylon; but we may be led to it by the words of Paul; for what he says of the woman (Eph. v. 31, 32), "This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the Church," refers also to the harlot. The harlot Babylon, is the church conforming to the world.

This view is borne out by the following three statements of the text.

Firstly, John, it is said (xvii. 3), was again carried away in the Spirit *into the wilderness*, where he last saw the woman, in chap. xii. The expression, wilderness (*ἐρημος*), which has caused, in this passage, much unnecessary trouble and display of erudition to commentators, occurs in the book of Revelation, only in the following passages, xii. 6, 14, and xvii. 3. This circumstance of itself throws striking and clear light on the whole. John left the woman in the wilderness; he is brought again into the wilderness, and finds again the woman; hence could the identity of the woman in chap. xii. and in xvii. be more clearly indicated?

For, secondly, the same expressions are used in chap. xvii. for wilderness and woman, as in chap. xii. The expression woman, *γυνή*, has its fixed meaning throughout this apocalyptic book. In xii. 17, and again in the nineteenth and twenty-first chapters, it is always used as a symbolical representation of the Church. Besides the passages mentioned, it occurs only in ii. 20, and in the plural ix. 8, xiv. 4, passages which, it will be seen from the most cursory glance, have no bearing on our subject. In the twelfth chapter, we know the woman is the congregation of God in its purity, the bearer of divine light, the Church of believers in the Old and New Covenants. In the seventeenth chapter, where *γυνή* occurs (ver. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 18), it is the apostate church which has become the harlot, and unfaithful to her spouse and Lord, Jehovah-Christ. Finally, in xix. 7, and xxi. 9, the woman is the transfigured, perfect Church, the bride of the Lamb, ready for the marriage feast. Woman, harlot, bride, these are the three aspects of the Church, which the evangelical mode of viewing Scripture has never failed clearly to distinguish. The woman is the invisible Church; the harlot the visible Church. Both are the Church militant; whereas the bride is the Church triumphant.

We find thus, that the results of an evangelical study of

Church history in our own times, were seen before, and laid down centuries ago by divine prophecy.

Thirdly, It is admitted by all commentators, that the beast in the seventeenth chapter is identical with that of the thirteenth. But beast and woman are placed in both chapters in immediate connection. If the identity of the beast is conceded, how is it possible to doubt that of the woman? It must strike the reader, at a first glance, that all three expressions, wilderness, woman, beast (xvii. 3), are without article, which would be naturally expected here as referring to expressions known from their previous occurrence. But the omission of the article has its good reason. The three expressions are identical, and yet, in a sense, not identical with the former; the heathen world, the Church, and the world-power, have undergone, as we shall see subsequently, great changes, so much so, that John can scarcely recognise them, and sees "*a* beast, *a* woman, *a* wilderness."

This is shown, *fourthly*, by the expression used by the seer (ver. 6), with regard to the woman—"when I saw her I wondered." We nowhere meet in the Apocalypse such an expression of John's amazement; and hence the angel's question (ver. 7), Wherefore didst thou marvel? In other passages the inhabitants of earth are astonished at the beast (ver. 8, and xiii. 3). It is clear, that the object of John's astonishment cannot be the outward magnitude of the city of Rome, or the multitude of sins and crimes which are natural, and to be expected, in a great world-city. Nor can the astonishment of the apostle be explained, from his not being able to understand the image; for why do we not find this astonishment mentioned in the case of other visions, which he likewise could not at first have understood? No; the wonder of John finds its only explanation in the extraordinary change which had passed over the woman; the impression made on John may be expressed by the words of Isaiah i. 21: How is the faithful city become an harlot! This moves his very heart of hearts; this causes him such utter amazement (*ἰθαύμασα θαῦμα μέγα*) that the Church of

Christ should fall so low. In like manner, the prophets of the Old Covenant are astonished and indignant at the fornication of Israel, which they designate as unheard of. "Ask now among the heathen, who hath heard such things, the virgin of Israel hath done a very horrible thing" (Jer. xviii. 13; ii. 10, 11). The expression, "virgin" reminds us of "harlot;" the word is chosen with purposed irony. The "very horrible thing" is parallel to the "abominations," Rev. xvii. 4, 5, as the expression שְׁעִרִיּוֹת is used, for example Hos. vi. 10, of abominations of whoredom. The emphatic expression, that it is unheard of, that it cannot be accounted for, that Israel has fallen so deep, even below the heathens, forms an exact parallel to the astonishment of John. In like manner does the book of Isaiah open. Heaven and earth are called to witness this marvel, that the children whom the Lord brought up and nourished, have become more forgetful than ox and ass (Is. i. 1-3).

Fifthly, In the preceding arguments, we have already touched on the most important and decisive reason in favour of our view, which lies in the expressions, harlot (Rev. xvii. 1, 5, 15, 16; xix. 2), to commit fornication (xvii. 2; xviii. 3, 9), fornication (xiv. 8; xvii. 2, 4; xviii. 3; xix. 2). As Babylon is altogether described in its worldly features, the first impression might naturally be to refer it to political Rome; and the absence of more definite spiritual attributes might be brought forward as an argument against our view. But the two designations, woman and harlot, are sufficient for him who understands the *usus loquendi* of our book and prophecy in general. "Woman," means the Church, the congregation of God; and when it is said, the Church is become altogether worldly, the predicate does not alter the meaning of the subject. "Harlot" means, in the whole Old and New Testament, the apostate Church of God. She forms the subject of the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters, which, doubtless, paint worldliness in exceedingly strong colours; but only in order to point out emphatically and earnestly

the contrast between the actual state of the Church and its ideal. It is quite impossible to refer the expression harlot, to the heathen world-city. It is true, that this expression is used with reference to world-cities, but only in two passages of the Old Testament, Is. xxiii. 15-18, where Tyre, and Nah. iii. 4, where Nineveh, is spoken of. But these two passages have no force, if compared with the great number of others with which they are parallel, and in which harlotry symbolizes *uniformly*, the apostasy of God's Church, her conformity to the world. It is natural that the Apocalypse should refer also to these two passages (xvii. 1, 2; xviii. 3), and for this simple reason, that the Apocalypse applies the image of the world-city to the Church. But it is not only absurd to fix the *usus loquendi* of our book, which is universally admitted to be the consummation of all prophecy, by two isolated passages; but this is, moreover, rendered impossible by the connection, which, as was pointed out, subsists between woman and harlot—a connection which is but an echo to the voice of all Old Testament prophets, the object of whose lamentations is always the Church of God, that has become unfaithful, and a harlot. We saw, in our first remarks on the expression woman, that the expression, “to commit fornication,” was the original fundamental one used in the Pentateuch, and that from this expression the view gradually developed itself, that Jehovah's relation to Israel is a marriage relation, and the idea of the “woman” was thus formed. And how were it possible, that in the Revelations the woman and harlot should stand in no relation to each other? Only remember fundamental passages, like Jer. ii. and iii., Ezek. xvi. and xxiii., Hos. i.-iii., the echo of which resounds throughout prophecy, and the biblical idea of fornication and adultery will stand out clearly. It is the same idea which our Lord Jesus expresses, when he calls God-estranged Israel an evil and adulterous generation (Matt. xii. 39; xvi. 4; Mark viii. 38).

But of course the *usus loquendi* of the Apocalypse itself has most decisive weight. Fornication, in the literal sense, is men-

tioned, ii. 14, 20, in connection with idolatrous sacrifices; in ver. 21, there is a transition to the spiritual use of the word, as is evident from ver. 22, where *de Wette* and *Hengstenberg*, who do not agree with our interpretation, refer *μοιχεύειν*, adultery, to the violating of the covenant of God in Christ, and to the spread of heresies.

Besides, in xiv. 4, before the first mention of the harlot (ver. 8), as if to prepare the reader for the understanding of the term, the hundred and forty-four thousand are described "as they, which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins." This expression, which has given much trouble to commentators, is easily understood, when contrasted with the whoredom of Babylon, spoken of, ver. 8; the pure transfigured church is here opposed to the impure church, which is ready for judgment, even as a chaste virgin to a harlot: in like manner, Paul says to the Corinthians, that he hoped to present them to Christ as a pure virgin, *παρθένον ἀγνήν* (2 Cor. xi. 2, comp. Ephes. v. 25-27; in like manner, as we saw above, Jeremiah contrasts the virgin youth of Israel with its abominations of whoredom. The expression: who are not defiled with women, is founded on the fundamental passage, Num. xxv. 1, which is also alluded to in Rev. ii. 14, where the connection between outward and spiritual fornication is represented in the case of the Moabite women. With the exception of ix. 21, there is no other passage in our book in which fornication is spoken of, and hence the meaning of the term in the Apocalypse is beyond doubt.

Connected with this is, sixthly, the objective parallelism between Babylon and New Jerusalem. Both are cities, only the one is a harlot, the other a bride (xvii. 1, 3, 5; xxi. 9). But now, as New Jerusalem is acknowledged at all hands to mean the transfigured congregation of God, it follows, that Babylon means the Church in its worldliness.

Even more distinct, if possible, is, seventhly, the contrast which is in xix. 1, 9, between the harlot and the wife of the Lamb. The same great voice of much people in heaven, which praises God

(v. 1-5) on account of the judgment on the heathen, rejoices in ver. 6 and 7, that now the marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready. After the false church, which was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and dressed with gold and precious stones and pearls (xvii. 4), is judged, the true Church of God is clothed with the white garment, which, by its splendour (*λαμπρον*) symbolises the triumph of him that overcometh, by its purity (*καθαρόν*) innocence, and righteousness. The *κρίμα* of the harlot is the *δικαίωμα* of the woman (Comp. the same contrast Rom. v. 16-18); the saints who condemned the harlot, and prayed for judgment on her (xviii. 20), who would not partake of her sins, and remained faithful even unto death (xviii. 24; xix. 2), are now justified, are now in possession of their right, which was hitherto unacknowledged and violated, but which is now manifest before all the world, of the righteousness with which God invested them, that crown of righteousness, as Paul (2 Tim. iv. 8) expresses the same thing, under a different figure (Comp. *Delitzsch*, *Hohelied*, p. 227, etc.). As long as the false church existed, the true Church could not be manifest; now the harlot has fallen, the woman triumphs. Nothing could be expressed in a clearer manner than the meaning of the harlot is.

Add to this, eighthly, our remark on the meaning of the word mystery, which the harlot has inscribed on her forehead.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the prophecy itself, viz., the prophecy concerning the corruption of the Church, and her conforming to the world. The numerous analogies in the Old and New Testament will render our understanding of the prophecy easy. Our Lord Himself, to begin with the New Testament, has given no obscure intimations in the parables which refer to the history of the church (Matt. xiii.), that when once the gospel, according to its destination, shall have the whole world for its field, when the kingdom of God shall be like a net cast into the sea of all nations and peoples, the Church would not be pure, but mixed, consisting of good and evil.

The twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, Christ's eschatological words, in which He views simultaneously the destruction of Jerusalem and His Parousia; and hence judgment upon Israel and Christendom is based upon the fundamental view that the New Testament Church will become as much a wicked and adulterous generation as the Old Testament congregation, and the Lord dwells upon some symptoms and characteristics of this adultery, as distrust and suspicion; hatred, treachery (ver. 10-12), divisions into parties (23-26), false doctrine (vii. 24). In the light of this chapter the apostles looked into the future of the Church. Paul, Peter, and John declare with ever-increasing distinctness, especially in their more advanced age, when they witnessed the heathenish, gnostic element insinuating itself into the church, that, in the future, and especially the last days (*ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς*, 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Peter ii. 1-3, *ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις*, 2 Tim. iii. 1; iv. 3; 2 Peter iii. 3; comp. 1 John ii. 18), there would come heavy times of apostasy and sedition. Paul compares those that resist truth, to the Egyptian sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8); Peter with Sodom and the heathen prophet Balaam (2 Peter ii. 6, 15); comparisons which we find again in the Apocalypse (xi. 8; ii. 14), and which form the substratum for the representation of the apostate church as world city. In speaking of the historical starting-point of the book of Revelation, we alluded to this analogy of the apostolic prophecy, and pointed out, that the Apocalypse itself contains a description of the corruption which was creeping into the church; in the seven epistles, which designate the corruption as fornication and adultery; and it is only this view more fully developed which meets us in the "Babylonian harlot."

We have also occasionally referred to Old Testament antecedents and analogies, which the apostle Peter points out (2 Peter ii. 1). The reason and occasion of prophecy itself is the fact, that Israel, the spouse of Jehovah, has become a harlot. The prophets are sent to oppose the corruption of the nation. Repentance, judgment, redemption—these are the great topics

of prophecy. Hence the three great prophets and the first of the twelve minor prophets, begin with describing the whoredom of Israel (Is. i.; Jer. i.-iii.; Ezek. ii.; Hos. i.-iii.). But Israel's unfaithfulness is of a much older date than the time of prophecy. It is as old as the nation itself; even in the wilderness, Israel went after strange gods; and, as has been remarked, the expression, "to commit fornication," precedes historically the expression, "woman." The heinousness of sin is expressed in this comparison, its awful magnitude, which is only surpassed by the mercy of God (Rom. v. 20), who condescends to sinners so vile, and does not even spare His own Son to redeem them. The harlot is as old as the woman, even as the invisible and visible Church were never altogether identical. Israel had a time of first bridal love, of which Jeremiah speaks (ii. 2, 3): The time of their going out of Egypt, and their first days in the wilderness. In like manner, there was a time of first love in the Christian Church (Rev. ii. 4), the apostolic, especially during the first decennia, which are the Egyptian times, and the times of the wilderness, according to Rev. xi. 8; xii. 6, 14. But soon, very soon, commenced the Church's whoredom. Israel, as a nation, fell from God, and became a harlot; and the little flock of genuine, faithful Israelites, the woman, was always concealed and hidden, like a kernel in the shell. The Apocalypse itself leads us to this view, for, in xvii. 9, the harlot is represented as sitting on all the seven world-kingdoms, and this refers, as does the woman, to Old Testament times as well. In the passage quoted above, the prophets (especially Ezek. xvi. and xxiii), give us a description of the shameful whoredoms committed by Israel with the most ancient kingdoms of the world—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon. We see the same thing in the New Covenant. In the twelfth chapter of Revelation, the first period of the Christian Church is described, when apostate Israel was the harlot, and the young congregation of Christ the woman, that time of first love among the Christians, in which almost the whole church was faithful to the Lord. But soon

fornication crept into the Church itself, so that, as a whole, she appears in the seventeenth chapter no longer as the woman, but the harlot, the great Babylon, which contains, however, concealed, the true people of God, the woman (xviii. 4).

We see here a fundamental idea of God's plan, of which we spoke in general on a previous occasion, and which is of great importance for the understanding of all prophecy and history. God has given to humanity, as a race, two essential forms of social life for its development and growth: State and Church. The latter in a twofold shape. In the Old Testament form, where Church and State are connected, and in the New Testament, spiritually free (*geistesfreien*). State and Church are precious gifts of God. The one, a gift of nature and creation; the other, of revelation and spiritual grace. But the original purpose of both institutions is realised only in a small number of men; as a whole, both are desecrated and disfigured by sin; thus, states become to be of the nature of the beast, the church becomes a harlot. Yet, notwithstanding this, they exist, and are preserved by the Divine patience until their object is fulfilled, which is, that under the protection of the State, under the nurture of the Church, and also under the oppression of the evil administrators in both, the congregation of the elect is gathered, the faithful, chaste wife of Christ. The woman is the kernel, beast and harlot serve as shell, as scaffolding for the temple of the Lord. But whenever the kernel is mature, whenever the edifice is complete, the shell is thrown off, the scaffolding destroyed, and what does not belong to the temple must perish amid the falling ruins. Thus, when judgment will come upon Babylon, a voice from heaven will say, "Come out of her, my people" (Rev. xvii. 4). Thus it was, that out of the ruins of Israel and Jerusalem, came forth the first congregation of Christians, when the Old Testament people of God were judged (Matt. xxiv. 18). And even in more remote times can we trace analogies. For in the antediluvian world, the antithesis of world-kingdom and God's kingdom, existed, though in a diffe-

rent form. There was then neither church, as in the New, or Theocracy, as in the Old Covenant, opposed to the world, but family against family. The Cainites were the beast, the Sethites the woman. But even the families of Sethites became the harlot; only Noah, with his house, was a just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God. Therefore judgment came on both Sethites and Cainites, and only Noah and his family were saved. The remnant thus saved is always the seed of a new time and world; thus Noah, for the history of the world, the Jewish Christians, headed by the apostles, for the history of the Church; the congregation of the Bride, which shall come out from Babylon for the kingdom of the millennium (Rev. xx. 4). But there is a gradation and progress in humanity thus saved from judgment; in the first case it is natural, in the second, spiritual, in the third, transfigured humanity. This is the fundamental idea of the history of the kingdom which Peter develops, 2 Pet. ii. 5. Peter adds Lot to Noah; in his going out of Sodom the same grand law manifested itself on a small scale, and therefore our Lord also (Luke xvii. 26) connects Noah and Lot. The same fundamental idea is expressed in prophecy by Shear-jashub (Isaiah vii. 3; x. 20-23; vi. 10-13; i. 9; Zephani. iii. 12, 13), and the same idea is resumed by Paul in Rom. ix. 27-20; xi. 1-10), when he speaks of the seed and the remnant, according to the election of grace, which alone is to be saved, even though Israel were as numerous as the sand of the sea; it is the same fundamental idea, with which the Old Testament concludes, and the New Testament begins (Mal. iii. 16-21; Matt. iii. 12); the chaff, which is round the wheat, is burned with fire, but the wheat, that has life and strength, is gathered into God's garner.

These considerations will facilitate our understanding of the descriptions of the apostate Church, contained in the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters of the Apocalypse. Only let us constantly bear in mind, that from the outset, the chief object is the judgment of the living and holy God on the Church; and

this judgment is not according to human, but according to the divine standard, which is so much higher than man's, as the heavens are higher than the earth (Isaiah lv. 8, 9; Rom. xi. 33). It is a spiritual judgment, πνευματικῶς (1 Cor. ii. 13-15); what belongs spiritually to Sodom, Egypt, or Babylon, is condemned. God, who has shown to the Church the fulness of His grace, and purchased her with the blood of his Son, can and must require of her pure, perfect surrender, and a total renunciation of the world (comp. Heb. xi. 7, διὰ τῆς πίστεως Νῶε κατέκρυψε τὸν κόσμον). Hence, in proportion as His love was great, His wrath is great; as liberal and generous as His mercies are, even so severe and awful are His judgments. We, especially in these times, are not accustomed to the idea of an absolute separation of light and darkness, kingdom of God and world, woman and beast, which exists in the mind of God. Hence we find it difficult to understand the Apocalypse. The key to the book is the cross, as we see from ver. 9, the cross by which I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, Gal. vi. 14. But the fundamental error of our Christian theory and practice is, that we confuse kingdom of God and world—the very thing the Bible designates as whoredom. Hence it is we do not understand God's zeal against it. Our eyes are dim to perceive the sins of the Church, and of Christendom, and our own sins; and therefore it is, that we think the awful words of the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters cannot refer to the Church, but must apply to the world city. Oh that our eyes were opened, that we might see as the prophets, the apostles, the Lord Jesus himself, the Friend of Sinners, saw the Church of their times. We know that the Pharisees were not such bad men, and had a kind of zeal for divine things, and yet with what awful earnestness does the Lord reprove them. The prophets appeared mostly in the reigns of excellent kings, as Hezekiah and Josiah—and yet what powerful sermons of repentance and judgment were uttered by them. The teachers of false doctrines and seducers, with whom the apostles had to do, were not of such a dangerous kind, per-

verting the very foundations of truth, as the teachers of error in our own times; and yet how strongly do Paul and John, Peter and Jude, testify against them! Sin appears more sinful in the eyes of God, than in ours; but the most heinous of all sins is the sin of those to whom God has shown His saving grace, who have God's word and know it, who are called to serve Him (Luke xii. 47-48). The worldliness of the Church is the most worldly and profane of all worldliness. Hence it is, that in the description of Babylon, the Apocalypse unites not only the chief features of Israel's sins, but also of the sins of the heathens, as we find them delineated in the prophets. And, for the same reason, the seer dwells longer on the description of the abominations and judgments of the harlot, than on those of the beast; and for this reason, likewise, the whole section, beginning with chap. xvii., comes within the range of judgment on the harlot; and, finally, for this reason it is, that there is most special joy in heaven at her downfall, more than over the downfall of the two beasts (comp. xviii. 20-xix. 5).

The word harlot describes the essential character of the false church (xvii. 1). She retains her human shape, remains a woman, does not become beast; she has the form of godliness, but denies the power thereof (2 Tim. iii. 8). Her rightful lord and husband, Jehovah-Christ, and the joys and goods of his house, are no longer her all in all, but she runs after the visible and vain things of the world, in its manifold manifestations. This whoredom appears in its proper form, where the church wishes to be itself a worldly power, uses politics and diplomacy, makes flesh her arm, uses unholy means for holy ends, spreads her dominion by sword or money, fascinates the hearts of men by sensual ritualism, allows herself to become "Mistress of Ceremonies" to the dignitaries of this world, flatters prince or people, the living or the dead,—in short, where the church, like Israel of old, seeks the help of one worldly power against the danger threatening from another. But, indeed, though whoredom be not committed in this gross shape, the word of the Lord applies

here also : Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart (Matt. v. 28). Whenever the Church forgets that she is in the world, even as Christ was in the world, as a bearer of the cross, and pilgrim, that the world is crucified to her, and judged ; whenever the Church regards in her heart the world as a reality, and acknowledges her as a power, whose anger she endeavours to avoid, with whom she tries to make some compromise, whose pleasures and enjoyments seem to her desirable, with whose wisdom, education, science, spirit, though opposed to God's truth, she coquets ; whenever such is the case, adultery is committed in essential reality. Herein consists the essence of whoredom, in leaning, and listening, and conforming to, and relying on the world. Hence, there could not be a better description of it than that given, xvii. 3, 7, 9 ; the woman sits on the beast. The church, the woman clothed with the sun, ought to let her light, the nature of which is to spread light, shine into darkness ; it ought, as a leaven, to penetrate and pervade the whole mass of humanity, " not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts " (Zech. iv. 6) ; this is her motto and watchword. But the harlot is the very reverse of this. Instead of cleaving to Christ, and Him alone, as to her royal head, she trusts to the heads of the beast (ver. 9) ; instead of the heavenly splendour of the sun, she is arrayed with the earthly adornments of purple and scarlet, gold and precious stones, and pearls, ver. 4 ; instead of drinking of the cup of suffering of her Lord, she has a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication (ver. 4). And they who rejoice over such a church, and lament her downfall, are not the true living Christians, the saints of God, but the great and the rich of this world, the kings who committed fornication with her, the merchants of the earth, and the shipmasters who were made rich by her abominations, Rev. xvii. 2 ; xviii. 3, 9-19. How mightily does this contrast with Paul's observation ? For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not

many noble, are called. God hath chosen the weak things of this earth (1 Cor. i. 26; James ii. 5). What a contrast between the world's lamentations at the downfall of the harlot, and the world's rejoicing over the death of the two witnesses, as it is written, Rev. xi. 10, "and they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over her, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." The harlot church did not molest the kings and mighty ones of this earth; she did not reprove their sins, but made their way to heaven smooth and easy; she was of service to them as a bridle, to keep in subjection the nations; she offered herself as a means of restoring their authority, and re-establishing order and safety; and her help was accepted, and found useful. Hence, no wonder that the kings mourn over her fall, xviii. 9-10. Also the merchants, shipmasters, found the church useful as preserving order and peace, and under her protection commerce prospered, and their gains increased (xviii. 11, 13). And not only this, but she did not lift up her voice to witness against worldly-mindedness, against luxury and effeminate refinement,—the sources of the merchants' gains,—but rather conformed herself to the world, and partook of her joys and pleasures; instead of caring for the sheep, she cared for the wool; instead of being clothed with the spirit and power from on high, pointing ever to the heavenly prize, and the future city which we are seeking, she cherished the flesh, and pleased herself in her harlot ornaments; instead of opposing and lessening, she promoted and increased the sinful life and decay of the world by her own earthliness, allowing the salt to lose its savour (xviii. 14-19; xix. 2, *ἡ πόλις τὴν γῆν*).

But the *saints*, the true witnesses of Jesus, the apostles and prophets, and all heaven, rejoice at the fall of Babylon; they have long prayed to God to send this judgment, for of their blood the harlot was drunken (xvii. 6; xviii. 20; xix. 2). The harlot of the New Covenant has the same blood-guiltiness as that of the old; for even Old Jerusalem killed the prophets, and stoned them that

were sent to her ; and the Jews put the Lord Jesus and His disciples out of their synagogues, and put them to death, thinking of doing thereby God service (Matt. xxiii. 29-37 ; xxi. 35-39 ; John xvi. 1-4). Nor must we confine our thoughts here to cases like those of Huss, the Waldenses, the Huguenots, the British Martyrs, etc., or the martyrs which are yet future ; but bear in mind the words, Whoso hateth his brother is a murderer, 1 John iii. 15. Wherever true faithful Christians are neglected and oppressed by the rulers of the Church, from avowed or secret antipathy to God's truth, where a false theology and science robs youth of its faith ; where a pastor neglects, and keeps at a distance, the true living Christians in his flock, on account of the *signum crucis* which they bear ; wherever we refuse, or are ashamed to bear the reproach of Jesus Christ, our heavenly Master, even as He bore it, there we commit murder against the saints of God.

Such is the character of the harlot ; and it is not only a church here and a church there ; it is not only the Church in its individual manifestations, that is meant here, but Christendom as a whole, even as Israel, as a whole, had become a harlot. The true believers are hidden and dispersed ; the invisible church is within the visible. It cannot be said, here or there is the harlot, and here or there she is not ; as little as it can be said, Lo, here is Christ, or there (Matt. xxiv. 23). The boundary-lines which separate harlot and woman are not local, are not confessional (denominational) ; they cannot be drawn at all externally, *ἐν γράμματι*, it must be spiritually discerned and judged. To separate externally wheat and tares is God's, who shall do it in judgment. This universal character of the harlot is indicated in the Apocalypse by the expression, "the harlot sitteth upon many waters," waters signifying nations, and peoples, and heathens, and tongues, or by the expression, "all nations were made drunk by the wine of her fornication," and she corrupted the earth with her fornication (xvii. 1, 15 ; xiv. 8 ; xviii. 3 ; xix. 2). This external extensiveness over

the whole world, and her internal conformity to the world; this worldliness, both in extent and contents, is symbolized by the name of the world-city *Babylon*. It is the Lord's will, that the seed of the gospel should be sown throughout the world; that all nations should be made disciples by baptism and preaching (Matt. xiii. 38; xxviii. 19); as the sun shines on all the earth, thus the woman clothed with the sun is to let her light and life penetrate to the uttermost ends of the earth. What we have spoken of previously, and shall consider more fully subsequently, is revealed to John very clearly, viz., the outward Christianizing of kings and nations. But this Christianization is merely external; the woman, in influencing the whole world, permits herself, at the same time, to be influenced by it, thus committing adultery; and, for this reason, her universality and catholicity is not like that of Jerusalem, which we hope for, according to God's promise (for example, Isa. ii. 2-4); but it is the universality of Babylon. Jerusalem and Babylon (compare on the latter, specially the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters of Jeremiah) are the two grand world-historical conflicting powers, which find their concrete manifestation in these cities. We saw, in our remarks on Dan. ix. 25, the significance of Jerusalem. Also in the Revelation of St John, Babylon is opposed to Jerusalem, not merely to the earthly, but also to the new, heavenly, transfigured Jerusalem. In the times of the New Covenant, the woman has no city on earth, because it seeks the future one (Heb. xiii. 14), it has only a place in the wilderness (Rev. xii. 6-14). Whereas the harlot has a comfortable and secure residence on earth, even as Cain, who built the first city (Gen. iv. 18), and not this or that city, but it is the very world-city of which she has taken possession. The deeper the Church penetrated into heathenism, the very heart of it, the more she herself became heathenish; she then no longer overcame the world (1 John v. 4), but suffered the world to overcome her; instead of elevating the world to her divine height, she sunk down to the level of the worldly, fleshly, earthly life; as the heathen masses came into the Church unconverted,

so, in like manner, the heathenish worldly spirit passed over into the Church, without passing through the death of the cross. Thus it was, that the heathen Jezebel and Balaam, instead of turning to the God of Israel, seduced God's people to idolatry. The application of these cases to the Church of Christ in the Epistle contained in the second chapter of Revelation (ii. 14-20), prepares us for the expressions "harlot," as well as that of "Babylon." As another preparation for this designation, we adduce the passage considered before, in which Jerusalem is called spiritual Sodom and Egypt. In connection with this, take St Paul's comparison of the seducers and false teachers to Jannes and Jambres, that of Peter to Sodom and Balaam, in all which expressions we find the sinking of the Christian to the low level of the heathenish. In the same spirit are the words of our Lord Himself, and of the prophets of the Old Covenant, when they repeatedly tell Israel that it had become worse than the heathens, than the world cities Tyre and Sidon, Nineveh, Sodom and Gomorrah (Matt. xi. 20-24; xii. 41; Isaiah i. 10; Jer. ii. 10; xviii. 13; Ezek. v. 5-7; xvi. 45-52).

This entirely robs the argument, which might be brought against our view, from the circumstance that Tyre and Sidon are also (in an exceptional case) designated by the name harlot, of its weight. In the last quoted chapter of Ezekiel, which, as we saw before, is of great importance for the understanding of the term harlot, we find a strong and striking analogy to the designation of Babylon in ver. 3, where it is said of Jerusalem: "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite." These remarks will render it perfectly clear, why the Apostate Church bears the name of the world-city.

If we now turn to consider the question, how has this prophecy been fulfilled in the history of the Church; we can neither find the Babylonian harlot exclusively in the Roman Catholic church, as has been thought, from a one-sided Protestant point of view, or exclusively in the Established State Churches of

Christendom, as has been imagined by separatists and sectarians.¹

We Protestants have indeed cause enough to be humble, and remember our own sins ; but, notwithstanding, we do not leave our Church, applying in a hasty and unwarranted manner, the command given, Rev. xviii. 4, "Come out of her my people ; even as our Lord Jesus did not leave the Jewish Church of His day ; for not even the smallest sect can keep herself free for any length of time from the sin of the harlot. Christendom, as a whole, in all its manifold manifestations of churches and sects, is the harlot ; and here again, let us strive to enter into the spirit of the watchword of the Apocalypse, "Here is patience and faith of the saints." As John Michael Hahn says (*Briefe u. Lieder über die Offenbarung*, in his works, vol. v., sec. 6, Tübingen, 1820).—"The harlot is not the city of Rome alone, neither is it only the Roman Catholic Church, to the exclusion of another, but all churches and every church, ours included, viz. all Christendom that is without the spirit and life of our Lord Jesus, which calls itself Christian, and has neither Christ's mind nor spirit. It is called Babylon, that is confusion, for false Christendom, divided into very many churches and sects, is truly and strictly a confuser. However, in all churches, parties and sects of Christendom, the true Jesus-congregation, the woman clothed with the sun, lives, and is hidden. Corrupt lifeless Christendom is the harlot, whose great aim and rule of life is the pleasure of the flesh, the welfare of the beast-like sensual humanity, who is open to the influence of all false spirits and teachers, and is governed by the spirit of nature and the world."

Notwithstanding this universal character of the harlot, it remains true, that the Roman and Greek Churches are, in a more peculiar sense, the harlot, than the evangelical Protestant. Babylon, in the times of St John, became *Rome* ; and it is clear, from Rev. xviii. 7, that we are intended to bear this in mind.

¹ The original is literally churches of the State and of the masses.—Tr.

Not merely the outward, historical, and geographical Rome is referred to, but as is indicated by the mystic name Babylon, Rome in a prophetic sense, as centre of the world-power, and representative of the world-city. But it is this very spirit of the Roman world-kingdom, which penetrated into the Church, and changed her in the west into a Church State, striving after an external, unreal, world-power, having its centre in Rome; and in the east, into a State Church, fettered by the world-power, having its centre in Byzantium; in both places into a world-church, fallen from the invisible spiritual essence of the gospel, and sunk into the elements of the world, Gal. iv. 9; Col. ii. 20. *The Roman Catholic Church is not only accidentally and de facto, but in virtue of its very principle, a harlot; she has the lamentable distinction of being the harlot κατ' ἐξοχήν, the metropolis of whoredom, the mother of harlots (Rev. xvii. 5); it is she, who, more than others, boasts of herself: I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow, xviii. 7, whereas the evangelical (Protestant) church is, according to her principle and fundamental creed, a chaste woman; the Reformation was a protest of the woman against the harlot.*¹

¹ It is very natural that Evangelical Protestants, who rejoice in the divine truth of their confessions of faith, should look for an intimation of the great event of the Reformation in the prophecies of the Apocalypse. But such an intimation cannot be found, at least not a direct one; for the object of John was not to write church history, but rather to sketch the features and principal tendencies of that history. However, as we are continually reminded of the parallelism subsisting between the Old and the New Testament development of the kingdom of God, it is possible to form an estimate of the position and importance which attaches to the Reformation, with reference to the whole history of the Church. The analogy in the Old Testament is, we conceive, to be found in the post-exilic Reformation of Israel, under Zerubbabel and Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah; before the exile Israel had fallen into fornication, and was therefore given into captivity. In like manner, the Church, during the middle ages, and hence the expression, "the Babylonian captivity of the popes," and the title of Luther's work on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church. After the exile Ezra restored the Bible, it was not a new original revelation which was now given, but a revival of the original word of God given by Moses. In like manner, the Reformation went back to the New Testament

As yet the mystery of Babylon is not fully developed, and we do not know what evolutions of the false Church are in the future, till it reaches that culminating point, when it is ripe for judgment. But Bengel, who, notwithstanding all the mistakes in the details of his exposition, was endowed with a wonderful intuition, which was increased by his study of the prophetic word, was probably correct in his expectation, that Rome will once more rise to power. It is probable, that the Greco-Russian Catholicism will likewise become of importance. The adulterous, worldly elements, in all churches and sects, lean towards that false Catholicism, and pave the way for its progress. And thus it may attain again to power. But not only here, but everywhere, let us take heed to the signs of the times, to the confusion of truth and error, worldliness and Christianity, in

and apostolic Christianity. The Israelitish Reformation was retarded and attacked by the former inhabitants of the land, the Samaritans, of mixed Jewish and heathen blood. Who is not struck by this resemblance to the Roman church opposing the Reformation? Yet the Old Testament Reformation succeeded under the protection of the world-power. The Jews were now in possession of the entire and pure word of God; they were the witnesses for Divine truth at that time, and among them were always faithful souls, who kept the law of God, and waited earnestly for the consolation of Israel. But, on the whole, the centuries before the coming of the Lord were poor and troublous times; the spiritual leaders of the people were divided into parties of would-be orthodox Pharisees and Rationalistic Sadducees, and the great mass of the nation was without spiritual life. Is this not a picture of the Protestant Church? The Samaritans, who mixed Jewish and heathenish elements, human and divine, and were backward, both in intellectual and spiritual life (comp. John iv. 22), stood in the same relation to the Jews, as formerly the kingdom of Israel to the kingdom of Judah, as at present the Roman Catholics to the Protestants. But *both* had been guilty of fornication, and judgment was sent equally on both. For it is clear, that not every thing depends on purity of doctrine and soundness of creed, for our Lord testifies of the Pharisees, that their doctrine was correct, inasmuch as He tells the people, whatsoever they bid you that you observe, observe and do (Matt. xxiii. 3), and yet He adds the most earnest denunciation against them.

A similar turning-point is represented in the antediluvian time by Enoch, the seventh from Adam, who, though not receiver of a new revelation, walked as an example of faith, and was an earnest preacher of truth, Gen. v. 21-24; Jude ver. 14, 15.

manifold shapes and forms, and let us not partake of it. This we know for certain, that in the moment of their triumph, the powers of the world and their allies shall crumble together, while the people of God shall be exalted to safety and victory. Christ's cross and Christ's resurrection are our pledge and warrant.

b. The Deadly Wound Healed—the Beast that is not, and its Return.

In like manner as the woman, the beast also appears in the seventeenth chapter in a different shape than before, and we must therefore consider it again, and in this connection: the beast also has passed, during the ages of the Christian Church, through different phases of development, and is now ripe for judgment. Let us see whether prophecy gives us any disclosures concerning this development. For this purpose we must turn again to the thirteenth chapter; in the same way as the seventeenth chapter threw light on the thirteenth, with regard to the heads of the beast. And here it is, that the question left unsolved in our chapters on Daniel, finds its answer, the question namely, whether prophecy takes any notice of the Christianization of the world-power, as we find it *de facto* in the Roman empire.

We have passed hitherto unnoticed a feature in the picture of the world-power, which is repeatedly and emphatically mentioned in the thirteenth chapter. St John beholds "one of the beast's heads, as it were, wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed" (xiii. 3, 12, 14). This deadly wound of one of the world-kings reminds us of what Daniel saw (Dan. vii. 4), with regard to the king of Babylon, "I beheld till the wings thereof (of the lion) were plucked, and the king received the upright posture and the heart of a man." We know that hereby the humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar's high soaring haughti-

ness is indicated, and his subsequent conversion to the living God. A similar change passes over one of the apocalyptic heads of the beast. It is not changed into a human head, but it receives a wound to death, and is thus rendered innocuous. The kingdom of the world, for which this head stands, does not truly turn to the living God, so that its beast nature is changed into a human one, as was the case with Nebuchadnezzar; but it does not develop its beast-like, brutal, God-opposed character, so fully as the six others; for a time it divests itself of its anti-christian character. It appears *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*, as if slain; and the remark has been justly made, that this expression is chosen purposely, in order to point out an outward resemblance between the beast and the Lamb, which John beholds (ver. 6), likewise *ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*. The second beast was like the Lamb, because it had two horns like a lamb (xiii. 11); the first is like the Lamb, in having a deadly wound. Hence we must not expect, even of the beast, of the world-power itself, that its development to the end will be in an exclusively heathenish form; it is to be Christianized externally; nay, for a time, it will appear to be altogether dead, and to have passed out of existence; and yet it will be in existence, and not have ceased to be beast.

It is not difficult to determine which of the world-kingdoms is here intended.

We have alluded to the same fundamental fact of Christian history, viewing it when speaking of the beast; whereas St John is led to this view after his vision of the woman (xii. 15, 16). The tribes, which were active in the migration of nations, were a new world-power which the devil brought against the Church of Christ; but, in a short time, the undisciplined hordes became accustomed to Christian order, government, civilization, and culture, and thus lost their antichristian character. The earth helped the woman, by swallowing up the flood; and the seventh head of the beast was wounded to death. The first six world-kingdoms had been heathenish; and although Rome had accepted Christianity in the eve of its existence, this could not

delay the night which was fast coming in ; what happened from the time of Constantine was only destined to render the Christianization of the Germanic world possible, and to prepare it to open the mouth of the earth, in order that it might swallow up the flood. Hence it is only the seventh kingdom which became a Christian world-kingdom, and this is meant by the deadly wound. At this stage of its development the beast is divested of its beast-like power, and thus ceases to be. For it is clear that the expressions, "It was slain," and "It is not," which are used by the angel (xvii. 8, 11), are identical. For every head designates the entire existence of the beast at a particular time. From this it is evident, that the wounded head cannot be referred to any other but the seventh. For after it is said of the beast, that "it is not," nothing else is mentioned about it, except its ascent out of the bottomless pit, which corresponds to the healing of the wound, and then immediately afterwards its going into perdition, the judgment is spoken of (xvii. 8) ; hence it is impossible that the head which was wounded and healed again should be succeeded by other heads, and it must consequently be the last, or the seventh. This is corroborated by the remark made with regard to the seventh head, "And when he cometh, he must *continue a short space*." This might be explained to refer to the nearness of Christ's second coming, and the whole duration of the seventh kingdom ; and parallel passages such as xii. 12, "he hath but a short time," and xxii. 7, 20, "I come quickly," might be adduced ; but it is simpler to combine the expressions, "he must continue a short space," and "a deadly wound," which reminds us that the Germanic nations were to remain only for a short space heathenish, beast-like, antichristian ; that the seventh head was soon to receive its wound. The head of the beast wounded to death represents the Christian state, and its Christian civilization.

This simple feature shews the essential character of the world's development during the Christian era in its innermost essence, even as that of the Church was depicted in the simple

change of the expression **woman into harlot**. Both developments correspond to each other.¹ The world-power gives up its hostility, and accepts Christianity externally; in like manner as the beast gives up its God-opposed character, the woman gives up her divine one. Both parties meet each other half way; world and Church make mutual concessions; the beast carries the harlot (xvii. 3, 7). Christianity has become worldly, the world has become Christianized; this is the fundamental type of the Christian era. The gainer in this process is, after all, the world; for the Church, whose life comes from the Father and the Son, can only be the loser by thus mixing with the world. Hence, though the state of the Christian world may appear satisfactory in the eyes of man, yet, in the sight of God, the present Christianity of the world is by no means genuine. The Lord Himself must first create something altogether new, before the kingdoms of this world become really and truly kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ. Scripture attaches only negative, not positive importance to Christian politics and civilization; it characterises them as a deadly wound of the beast; their object is to keep down and subdue for a season the anti-christian element, but not really to overcome and spiritually to transfigure the world. The history of the world is by itself neither transfiguration nor judgment of the world. Notwithstanding, this parenthetical non-existence of the beast is a state for which we must be grateful, and which we must anxiously endeavour to prolong; only let us not imagine that we can prevent the return of the beast. The essence of the world is doubtless the same as ever, and the heavenly powers of the Holy Spirit have by no means yet really penetrated the world; and although the antichristian character has been laid aside for a

¹ Compare the remarks on State, Congregation, and the State Church, product of the Christianization of the world and world-conformity of the Church, as the three factors of Christian history, which the historian must keep in view, according to the prophetic word, in *de Liefde*, General History for the People, (neue reformirte Kirchenzeitung, March 1854, pp. 72-74.

time, and externally, it shall manifest itself with its wonted, yea, even increased violence. For this reason it is that Daniel did not perceive any change in the world-power effected by Christianity. John sees such a change; but it is only temporary, unessential. Thus there is a perfect harmony between the Old and New Testament apocalypics. The one only supplements the other; and, as lies in the nature of his New Testament position, gives further details of prophecy. The deadly wound is always mentioned in connection with its being healed up; the non-existence of the beast in connection with its reappearance.

The deadly wound is thus *healed*; the beast, which received it, recovers life and returns, but now not only from the sea, but out of the abyss, *the bottomless pit*, whence it drew new antichristian strength of hell (xiii. 3, 12, 14; xvii. 8; xi 7). The Lord Jesus has expressed the same progression (Matt. xii. 43-45). The Christian Germanic world apostatises from Christianity; the old, God-opposed and anti-christian beast-nature asserts itself with new power, and gains the ascendancy; a new heathenism breaks in upon the Christian world. A heathenism which is worse, more demonic, more of the nature of the bottomless pit, than the ancient one, for it, as represented by the first heads of the beast, was only an apostasy from the general revelation of God in nature and conscience (Rom. i. and ii. 14), whereas this heathenism is an apostasy from the full revelation of divine love in the Son (Comp. Matt. xii. 41, 42); it is refined, intensified heathenism, to which the words shall be addressed: "Remember from whence thou art fallen!" (Rev. ii. 5.) This prophecy is not confined to the Revelations; it is the same apostasy (*ἀποστασία*) of which St Paul speaks in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, ii. 3, and which he sees culminate in antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition. And in describing the evil times of the last days (2 Tim. iii. 1), the apostle delineates the character of the men which shall live then, in a manner which reminds us of his characteristics of the heathens (Rom. i. 29); thus, he foresaw a new heathenism within Chris-

tendom. For it is evident, that he speaks of Christendom ; his expressions : apostasy, 2 Thess. ii. 3 : Some shall depart from the faith (1 Tim. iv. 1 ; comp. 2 Tim. iii. 5, and iv. 3, etc.), plainly show it. What is peculiar to the Apocalypse is the clear juxtaposition of the harlot and the returning beast. The Lord Jesus (Matt. xxiv. 4, 5, 11, 23-26) and the apostles speak of false doctrine, seduction, apostasy, more in general terms, whereas the Apocalypse distinguishes between two kinds of apostasies, Jewish and heathenish, of the Church and of the world ; the pseudo-Christianity of the harlot, and the Anti-christianity of the returning beast. The latter is the world, divested of all Christianity ; the former, the world, adopting Christianity, or Christianity adapting itself to the world. Both are thoroughly opposed to the true essence of Christianity, the chastity of the woman ; and these adulterous aberrations are the more dangerous, as they have the semblance of a divine Christian character. In our present time, some people see all danger, as coming from Rome, others as coming from infidelity and Radicalism. The one is as erroneous as the other ; on both sides we are surrounded by enemies, who are victorious at present, but over whom we shall triumph gloriously in the end. The kingdom belongs neither to the one on the right extreme, nor to those on the left extreme, but to the little flock of Christ. " And it shall come to pass, that in all the land, saith the Lord, two parts therein shall be cut off and die, but the third shall be left therein. And I will bring the third part through the fire and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried ; they shall call on my name, and I will hear them. I will say, It is my people, and they shall say, The Lord is my God." (Zech. xiii. 8, 9.)

Let us now examine more closely the beast returning into existence. It is said, that when the beast ascends again out of the bottomless pit, all the children of the world will render unto it admiration and homage (xvii. 8, θαυμάσουσιν, comp. xiii. 3, 4. They wonder and worship). They rejoice, that at last the

fetters of Christianity are thrown off, and that the power of this world, of which it could scarcely be hoped that it would triumph, which seemed to be totally defeated, shall triumph now in great glory (*ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται*).¹

The beast itself is changed in several respects; it is now scarlet-coloured; a symbol of its blood-guiltiness, delight in murder and persecution, the name of blasphemy formerly written only on its horns (xiii. 1), cover now its whole body, as a sign, that its opposition to God is now to manifest itself perfectly. The crowns, which were formerly on the ten horns, have now disappeared (xvii. 3); is this circumstance intended as an indication, that the ten kingdoms into which the Germanic Slavonic world is to be divided, will lose their monarchical form in the end? The expression (ver. 12), "receive power as kings," speaking of the power which they are to receive along with the beast in the last time (*μὴν ὥραν*), seems to be in favour of such a supposition. In the beginning of the birth-pangs preceding the Messianic kingdom, the *Ῥόδινες*, which prepare the *παλιγγενεσία* (Matt. xix. 28), there are wars, earthquakes, famines, also *ἀκαταστασία* and *ταραχαὶ* disturbances, revolts, revolutions (Luke xxi. 9; Mark xiii. 8). It is in this manner that the Antichristian kingdom comes into existence. But because we have here not merely the healing of the wounded head, not merely a restoration of the world-power to the state and condition of the preceding kingdoms, but a new kingdom, in which all the beast's opposition to God is concentrated, and raised to a power, such as it had never before; therefore, we read of an *eighth, which proceeds from the seven*, and is the full manifestation of the beast-nature (*τὸ θηρίον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ γδοός*—scil. *Βασιλεὺς—ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά ἐστὶν* (xvii. 11). We saw, in the prophecy of Daniel, that the fourth beast had a special horn, which represents Antichrist and his kingdom; and in like manner, in the Revelation of St John, the seventh

¹ This reading has been generally adopted since *Bengel*, instead of *καί τις ἔστιν*. Comp. *Hengstenberg* and *De Wette* on this passage.

kingdom passes over into an eighth, which is not merely one of the seven, but is brought forth by them, and proceeds from them, as a consummation of them all, as the beast that has reached the culmination of its development. This is the *antichristian kingdom* in the strict sense of the word, and the individual small kingdoms, the ten horns, give unto it their power and strength (ver. 12, 13, 17). That three of them are humiliated in doing so, is mentioned in Daniel, and is not repeated, but presupposed, by John.

In the fourteenth verse, we have a simple description of the Antichristian character of the kingdom of the ten horns, as it will make war with the Lamb, and this war ends in its total defeat. But before the end, the Antichristian kings are called to execute judgment on the harlot (ver. 15, etc.), which is fully described in the eighteenth chapter, and of which we shall speak subsequently. It cannot be proved with absolute certainty, that a *personal Antichrist* will stand at the head of the Antichristian kingdom, for it is possible that the eighth, like the preceding seven heads, designates a kingdom, a power, and not a person, and the same may be said concerning the Antichristian horn described by Daniel, when compared with the ten horns. But the type of Antiochus Epiphanes is of decisive importance, for this personal enemy of God's kingdom is described in the eighth chapter of Daniel, as a little, gradually increasing horn, just as Antichrist is spoken of in the seventh. And this is corroborated by the apostle Paul (2 Thess. ii.), who describes antichrist (ver. 4) with colours evidently furnished by Daniel's sketch of Antiochus, and who calls him, moreover, the man of sin, the son of perdition, which, if explained naturally, must refer to an individual (compare John xvii. 12, where the same expression *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*, is used of Judas). In favour of the same view may be adduced, likewise, analogies in the history of the world; the previous world-kingsdoms had extraordinary persons as their heads, as Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander the Great. The spiritual and universal character does not exclude individual personal re-

representatives. Every spiritual tendency has its distinguished representatives, and when it has reached its perfection, produces its representative *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Hence Antichristian tendencies produce different antichrists, and it is a sober historical view, when Christianity maintains that these separate antichrists shall, some future day, find their consummation in an individual, far excelling them in the intensity of his evil character (Lange. l. c. 374). In conclusion, we must not omit to mention, that Paul and John agree in speaking emphatically of the destruction of Antichrist (*ἀπώλεια*), comp. also the words of the apostle Peter (2 Pet. ii. 1, 3). His triumph is but of short duration, judgment speedily overtakes him. The man of sin is of necessity a child of death, the son of perdition. John immediately adds, after mentioning the ascent of the beast, that it goes into perdition (xvii. 8, 11).

If we now ask, how was this prophecy fulfilled, we have intimated before, that the non-existence of the beast embraces the whole Germanic Christian period. But who can doubt, that the healing of the wound has commenced already? The return of the beast is represented, or at least prepared, in that principle which, since 1789, has manifested itself in beast-like outbreaks, and has since then been developed both extensively and intensively. This principle has appeared in various forms, in the Revolution, in Napoleon, despotism sanctioning revolution, proving, at the same time, that the beast, even in this shape, can carry the harlot, in Socialism and Communism. But we may yet expect other manifestations. At present, it is the endeavour of churches and governments to keep down this monster, but it has shown its teeth more than once, and given unmistakeable signs that it is regaining life and strength. How long its development shall last, whether it is to grow up rapidly, through what different phases it has yet to pass, at what period the seventh kingdom shall pass over into the eighth, is not known to man, God alone knows it. It is not for us to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power (Acts i. 7), but it *is* for us, to take to heart the

word of our Lord : Can ye not discern the signs of the times ?
(Matt. xvi. 3.)

c. The other Beast, the False Prophet.

The beast has a spiritual ally in another beast, which is described in ver. 13-18 of the thirteenth chapter, immediately after the description of the first beast, and which is likewise mentioned in chap. xvi. 13, in connection with the first and the dragon, and which ultimately (xix. 20 ; xx. 10) shares its awful doom. In the three last-mentioned passages, the second beast occurs only under the name of the false prophet, a name which we do not find in the thirteenth chapter ; however, from a comparison of xix. 20 and xiii. 13, there can be no doubt that the second beast and the false prophet are identical. The reason why we speak of the false prophet at this stage is, because his influence is expressly spoken of as coinciding, in point of time, with the healing of the deadly wound of the beast, and its coming again to life (xiii. 12-14). It is true, that there were false prophets and teachers in the very earliest times of the Church (Many false prophets are gone out into the world (1 John iv. 1). That woman, Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants (Rev. ii. 20). Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 1) ; but in like manner as the apostles, John, Paul, and Peter (as we saw above), recognised, in the gnostic false teachers of their days, prototypes and precursors of that most dangerous development of error and seduction which is to come in the last days, so the Apocalypse predicts the false prophet to exert powerful influence in the *ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις*, the days of the return of the beasts, in perfect accordance with the teaching of our Saviour, who speaks of the same phenomenon in the times of the last troubles, denoting the manifold character of the false prophecy, by using the plural *πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται* (Matt. xxiv. 11, 24). We saw that the Danielic four beasts are presented to our view in the first apocalyptic beast. There is

no beast mentioned in the prophecies of Daniel corresponding to the false prophet. But the antichristian horn he describes possesses not only a mouth of blasphemy, a feature which we found again in the first beast of the Revelations, but it has likewise "human eyes;" and there is nothing in the first apocalyptic beast corresponding to this. What is symbolized by the human eyes, is cunning, knowledge, intellectual culture; and this attribute we find expressed in the New Testament Apocalypse by the false prophet. The reader will now understand better why we *laid such great stress on this feature in our remarks on Daniel*; it is of such importance, that in the Revelations of St John it is symbolized by a separate second beast. The first beast is a physical, political; the second beast is a spiritual power, the power of doctrine and knowledge, of intellectual cultivation, of ideas. The name itself shows it (comp. 2 Pet. ii., *ψευδοπροφῆται* = *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι*); and besides, it is evident from this circumstance, that the first beast ascends out of the waves of the sea; the second arises from the earth, which we know represents the civilized, consolidated, orderly world. But both are from below, both are *beasts*, therefore they are faithful allies; the worldly antichristian wisdom stands in the service of worldly antichristian power. As the Lord Jesus is the Truth and the Life, so Satan is the murderer and the liar (John viii. 44). The dragon is both lion and serpent; "great might and subtle cunning are his armoury."¹

The second beast has *two horns like the lamb*—that is, two horns, which, in their shape, resemble the seven horns of the lamb (ver. 6), and are consequently different from the ten horns of the first beast; but *it speaks as the dragon*. This feature reminds us most strikingly of the description given by the Lord in his sermon on the Mount, when he says of the false prophets, They come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves (Matt. vii. 15). This general contrast of sheep and wolf is more circumstantially described in the Apocalypse; the lamb

¹ Luther.—Tr.

opposed to the dragon is Christ opposed to Satan. Herein consists the peculiar danger of antichristian wisdom, that it comes in a Christian garb, and under a Christian name; that it pretends to be a support to Christianity, such as the advancement of the age renders necessary; that it pretends to be the rational, spiritual mode of viewing Christianity, and, in short, to be Christianity purified and perfect. Hence arises a confusion (*πλανά* ver. 14); stand-points innumerable, opinions, tendencies, opposing and crossing each other, so that many do not know where to look to, and what to believe.¹ Thus the false prophet and the harlot have this in common: as the former is from below, and yet, notwithstanding his perfectly worldly nature, pretends to be of divine nature (Lamb), so the harlot, though her nature is originally that of the woman hence of God, sinks to the level of the world. In both cases, the worldly and divine elements are mixed, though in totally different manners. The woman starts with what is from above and Christian, and is zealous for it, but because she looks also to the things of this world, eternal and sacred things become merely means to an end, empty forms, outward decoration; while possessing Christian forms, Christian doctrine, a Christian name, she denies the inward power and discipline, spirit and essence of the truth. On the other side, the false prophet is, and remains a beast; the character and starting-point of all his thought, are essentially and thoroughly earthly, psychical, God-opposed, devilish (James iii. 15). For this reason, the false prophet asserts that the forms and doctrines of Christianity are of no importance; that everything depends on the fundamental ideas. Under which specious pretext, however, he

¹ Chr. H. Zeller in the *Monatsblatt von Bueggen* 1846, p. 9: The apostasy will commence in a way which will be imperceptible to most people; it will have an appearance of Christianity and its outward form, as there are weeds which look like wheat; yea, in some cases, the apostasy will pretend to be pure, and the only genuine Christianity. But, by degrees, the more it spreads the more powerful it becomes in numbers and worldly influence; it will unfold, with increasing distinctness, its antichristian character, and finally betray, sell, oppose, and persecute the truth, fall away from it openly, and reject it.

gets rid of everything in Christianity which is from above and against this world, the supernatural facts of redemption, the divine radical beginnings of life, and heavenly aims of life, in short, Christ the divine essence of Christianity. While the harlot invests the worldly element with what is apparently from above, but has become a mere semblance and a lie, he converts what is divine into what is earthly and worldly. These two forms of apostasy may, under peculiar circumstances, meet and unite, though, in their essence, they are different poles, as, to give a rough example, priestcraft and Voltaire, who makes this very priestcraft the subject of his mockery. Here again let us carefully observe that the Apocalypse analyses minutely, where the other prophecy of the New Testament gives a more compendious and general view. It was very natural that these two elements should be viewed simultaneously by the apostles, because the Judaizing gnostics, such as the apostle Paul speaks of in his later epistles, combined really the two elements in their own persons. Their Judaism, with its external forms and outward observances, was a prototype of the harlot; hence, some commentators have thought that the forbidding to marry, and to eat certain things, which the apostle predicts as a sign of the false teachers, contains a prophecy of Romanism, 1 Tim. iv. 1-3; Col. ii. 16; xvii. 20-23; whereas their Gnosticism, with its spiritualistic and idealistic evaporising of the solid essence of Christianity, which derogates from the dignity of the Saviour, as God-man, either in the ebionitic or docetic way, which represents the resurrection as having happened already, and such like, is distinctly and clearly a precursor of the false prophet in his modern shape (Col. ii. 8-10, 18, 19; 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21; 2 Tim. ii. 16, 18; 1 John iv. 1-3).¹ It is of great importance that we are thus permitted to see the root common to all the different manifestations of apostasy; yet

¹ *Baur*, in his "Christliche Gnosis," has shown this by the parallel he draws between the old gnostic system and the modern speculative ones. *Thiersch*, in his "Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Stand-punkts," has only enlarged and applied this idea.

it pleased the Lord to give His Church disclosures of a more minute character, that she may know the dangers which threaten her from different, nay, even opposite sides, and these more special revelations are contained in the Apocalypse of St John.

Let us now turn to consider the work of the second beast. We find it always following the first beast, and constantly aiming, by its spiritual influence, to bring men to worship and deify it. The dragon has given his external power to the first beast (xiii. 3); to the second he gives his spirit, so that having this spirit *it speaks as the dragon* (ver. 11). Thus, it is the dragon's seed which is sown here, and in all children of unbelief, who pay homage to this false wisdom; it is the devil who has his work in them (comp. xii. 12; Eph. ii. 2). Hence, the false prophet asserts his influence more powerfully at the time that the world-power gains its highest, most demonic intensity, when the beast comes again into existence in the last times. Then it is that *he seduces all that are earthly minded, τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ γῆς*, as it is expressed in verses 12 and 14, in a term repeatedly occurring, which denotes very characteristically that they have taken their abode, planted themselves, taken root, and become at home upon earth; a thought which John denotes elsewhere by "being of the earth, from below, of this world" (John iii. 31; viii. 23; 1 John iv. 5), in contradistinction to "Being born from above, and dwelling in heaven" (John iii. 7; Rev. xii. 12; xiii. 6). The false prophet seduces the inhabitants of the earth to *worship the beast*, and he is successful with the great majority (ver. 12, 14). The image which the false prophet causes the inhabitants of the earth to make to the beast (ver. 14), and the historical substratum of which is, doubtless, to be found in the statues of the Roman emperors, to whom divine worship was paid, designates the deification of the world and the world-power. It is then that the civilisation of genius shall reach its culminating point. And when we are told that the false prophet breathes spirit into the image, so that it speaks (ver. 15), this is a striking description of the fact that the false doctrine is capable of giving a spiritual,

rational, philosophical appearance to the foolish idolatry and apotheosis of the creaturely; the spirit of the world with his revelations is that idol, dead and yet life-breathing, which all the world worships, and which shall be personified by antichrist. This is the new heathenism sunk back into deification of nature and humanity, and of which it cannot be predicted what forms of folly and beast-nature it shall yet assume. We are told, moreover, that it is to be endowed with miraculous power; both the Lord Jesus and the apostle Paul intimate this (Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thes. ii. 9). These passages refer not merely to the wonders of power over nature which the spirit of man has attained, and which he abuses to the deification of the creaturely, because he takes to himself the honour and glory; but we are led to expect all kinds of demonic miracles, extraordinary mysterious effects of the powers of darkness, such as we see in the instance of the Egyptian sorcerers. Thus, the future seduction will be one of great danger; but there shall be added, moreover, the external violence which was prefigured in the persecutions of the primitive Christians, and which shall consist in this, that all public intercourse will be on condition of receiving the *mark of the beast*, and that all who do not pay homage to the antichristian power will be killed (ver. 15-17). Here we have a plain prophecy of a persecution of all true believers in the last times, and more particularly, that they will be given over into the hands of antichrist, as has been intimated by the prophet Daniel (vii. 21, 25), and the Lord Jesus himself (Matt. xxiv. 9). Whenever the kingdoms of this world reach a certain point in the process of divesting themselves of Christian elements, the Church of Christ will be in the same position in which she was during the first three centuries, when the world-kingdom was yet heathenish. She will then be a free Church; but, at the same time, exposed to all the enmity and cruelty of the world. Only the enmity of the last days will be of a more subtle and refined character than it was during the apostolic ages; the pseudo-prophet is described as bearing, unmistakeably, the characteris-

tics of fanaticism (ver. 12, etc.). The representatives of anti-christian ideas will rejoice that at last they can have their revenge on the Christians who, for so long a time, opposed and tormented them (xi. 10). Whereas the Church of Christ is thus in her final probation; it behoves her to be perfected through suffering, like her divine Lord and Master; she must descend into the deepest humiliation; give up even her life and blood; but after that dark passion-week, will come an exceedingly bright easter-morn.

It will not be denied by any one who views the events of the two last centuries with enlightened eyes, that also this prediction of the false prophecy has begun to be fulfilled. Unconverted Paganism passed over by degrees into the Church during the first centuries, and this mixing of Christian and Pagan elements produced Roman Catholicism. Then came the Reformation, dissolving this illegitimate union, and restoring pure Christianity; and hence, it was natural, that in the succeeding centuries, Heathenism should likewise appear more naked, undisguised, and decided, and should attack Christianity again, but at first only with spiritual weapons. The antichristian element, which before was under a Christian guise, now came forward with increasing openness, and manifested itself as the false prophecy, as false doctrine, as the spiritual power of seducing ideas, which are based on a view of the world, radically false and opposed to God, but which spread and eat as a canker, under the name of philosophy, enlightenment, and civilisation (2 Tim. ii. 17). It is a fact, that the beast's coming to life again, and its new power, whereof we spoke above, is called forth, accompanied and strengthened by the influence of the false prophet, exactly as it is described in Rev. xiii. 12, etc. It is evident and palpable, that the philosophic principle of the autonomy of the human spirit, and the corresponding theological principle of Rationalism, that Idealism and Materialism, Deism, Pantheism, and Atheism, are all the products of the same spirit, the essence of which is apostasy from the fundamental principles of Christianity, aliena-

tion from the living and holy God, deification of the creaturely, is exactly what is meant in the Apocalypse by worshipping the beast. Indeed, even in a literal sense, in the present day, "bestiality is the ideal of thinkers." But even where this extreme point has not yet been reached, the false prophet is powerful enough. What is bringing thousands from Christianity, and preventing others from coming to a belief in a full and true Christianity, is nothing else but respect for these intellectual powers which rule in these days, for modern science and culture. But the worst thing is, that scarcely any one sees the depth of the evil. For even in the Old Covenant the chief and most active aim of the false prophets was, to make the people believe that their state was not so bad, and that the judgments of God were not near. Therefore, the fundamental and often-repeated charge against them was: they heal the hurt of my people slightly, and say, it is peace, it is peace, when there is no peace; and hence, Jeremiah especially, who lived to see judgment coming upon Jerusalem, had to oppose the false prophets (iv. 9; vi. 13-15; viii. 10; xiv. 13; xxiii. 9-40; compare, likewise, Ezek. xiii.)

It is not good that our modern theology scarcely ever views the present time in the light of Biblical prophecy. In all historical works, or philosophical remarks on the times, much is said about modern antichristianity; and there is no instruction given to the laity, how to view this phenomenon in connection with divine prophecy. The apostles have left us a different example. But nowadays it is decried as "unwissenschaftlich," unscientific, to call things by their true name; it is thought scientific, however, to form an alliance with the ideas of the false prophet. Many things against which prophets and apostles did not know how to raise their testimony sufficiently strong and loud, are acknowledged by many, with astonishing coolness and calmness, to have at least a theoretical right to exist. Indeed, who of us feels it as deeply as he ought, what spiritual poverty and folly Pantheism presupposes, how deeply an age must have fallen and

degenerated, which looks upon Pantheism as the highest wisdom, the result and sum total of the world's entire development. And even among those that are more right-minded, how much of the spirit of the false prophet has insinuated and lodged itself in their views. Many ideas of this false prophecy have become almost axioms in the most various spheres of life and thought, so that it is often difficult and almost impossible to get at the root of error, to distinguish between truth and falsehood. Especially there is wanting the beginning of wisdom, the fear of God and reverence for His word (Isa. lxvi. 2). Intimately and naturally connected with this, we see that the most tender and fundamental functions of conscience are disturbed and destroyed. People's conscience becomes blunt against the offences committed against the majesty of the Most High, which He has threatened to punish severely; moral judgment loses its power and acuteness. Even Christians mistake often secondary things for the essential, and imagine, that they have thoroughly plucked up the weeds, while they have only cut off what appears above ground. The atmosphere in which we live, is pregnant with poisonous elements. Blindness may happen to a whole generation. The prophets speak of a spirit of sleep and heaviness which is to be poured over the whole nation of Israel, even upon the prophets, and rulers, and seers, and that as a punishment inflicted by the Lord (Isa. xxix. 10). The Lord Jesus and the apostle Paul prophesy of strong delusions which God shall send to them that receive not the love of (to) the truth; and by which, if it were possible, even the elect will be deceived (Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 10-12). Hence, as the first beast is to be met by patience and faith (Rev. xiii. 10), the second beast must be opposed by true wisdom (Rev. xiii. 18).

III. JUDGMENT OF THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD-POWER.

The revelation which the Lord Jesus Christ Himself vouchsafed from His heavenly throne to His disciple John, shows us the sad

and dark result of the history of the Church and of the world, viz. : that the Church becomes the harlot, the political power of the world, the antichristian beast, the wisdom and civilisation of the world, the false prophet. This is a hard saying, and every one of us feels it such ; but it is a fact, and our less gloomy views of the world and its history are of no avail. This little book of the Apocalypse is intended to and must produce in us the same effect as it did in the apostle : "as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter" (Rev. x. 9, 10). The antichristian element manifests itself in a threefold shape—in the perversion of the three offices which Christ bears ; for it is not difficult to see, that the first beast is the false kingship, the harlot the false priesthood, the second beast the false prophet. We may also say, that the beast is the bodily, the false prophet the psychical, or so-called intellectual, the harlot the spiritual power of antichristianity. There is nothing of an accidental character in the prophecy ; but it contains the essential and necessary fundamental forms of apostasy. This is the internal evidence of the divine truth of our book.

The Revelations offer likewise new points of view and disclosures, as regards the philosophy of history. The antichristian powers succeed each other, and give a character to the different periods of Church history. The old Church stood still under the power of the beast, the heathen world-power ; the Church in the middle ages, under that of the harlot ; in modern times the prophet predominates. But in the last days, all these God-opposed powers, which have succeeded each other, shall co-operate, and raise each other to the highest, most terrible, and intense power of their nature ; the false prophet causes men to worship the beast, and the beast carries the harlot.

Thus the antichristian element manifests itself in a threefold manner ; on the other side there is a gleam of comfort in the thought which this revelation of the essence of the world-historical powers suggests, that the three fundamental forms of apostasy are reducible to two. For the false prophet is also a beast ;

and the two beasts, as different manifestations of the same principle, the beast-like, stand opposed to the harlot. Thus we have the same contrast as we saw in Daniel, beast and man, kingdom of the world and kingdom of God. Even the kingdom of God, the Church, has become worldly; the woman has become a harlot. But the beasts, according to their nature, look to the earth; their god is the world. Of this thoroughly worldly principle the first beast represents the outward physical, the second beast the inward spiritual aspect. Both are as essentially connected as body and soul, and for this reason they are always mentioned together, and finally judged at the same time; whereas separate judgment falls upon the harlot. Thus the apostasy may be reduced to two principles—the apostate Church and the apostate world, pseudo-Christianity and anti-christianity, the harlot and the beast.

The old discussion, whether apostasy in its last stage will be more of a pseudo-Christian or antichristian character,¹ is decided very simply by these views. It will consist in the union of the pseudo-Christian and antichristian elements, which the Apocalypse expresses by the harlot sitting on the beast. Christian history ends in a state of deep untruth and falsehood. The nations have invariably fallen away from Christianity, but the Church has nevertheless been able to gain outward recognition, and leaning on the worldly power—which in its turn makes use of the Church to achieve her own objects—she rules over the nations. Such is the picture of Christendom, ripe for judgment—such are the features distinctly sketched in Rev. xvii. 3. This is apparently impossible; but the Napoleonic France of our own day is well calculated to teach us that it is possible. But it is not necessary to conceive this lie as manifesting itself so palpably in this ecclesiastico-political shape, but in less open, more subtle, spiritual forms, pseudo-Christian and antichristian elements, superstition and infidelity being mixed in all the different

¹ Compare Lücke Commentar. über die Briefe Johannis, pp. 190, etc.

spheres of life, and Satan representing himself as an angel of light (2 Cor. xi. 13, 14).

Nor is this alliance of harlot and beast a perfectly new phenomenon; it takes place at the end of the New Testament period; but we know, that it likewise appeared in the concluding period of the Old Testament. Apostate Israel, which was at that time the harlot, disguising its unbelief under the semblance of a holy zeal, formed an alliance with the heathen world-power against the Lord Jesus and His apostles. "And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves (Luke xxiii. 12). Paul saw, that the congregation of believers was betrayed by Jews into the hands of the Gentiles (Acts xvii. 5-9); and it is not improbable that this fact, in which we have a manifest exemplification of the sitting of the harlot on the beast, forms the basis of the celebrated passage in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (ii. 7), in which Paul speaks of the mystery of ungodliness as "already working," thus showing an entire agreement with the views given in the Apocalypse.¹ The abominations committed by the Jews, drew down the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, that is, the judgment of the harlot by the beast (Dan. ix. 26, 27)—an exact parallel to the future judgment of the harlot by the beast.

¹ Comp. Baumgarten, *Apostolic History*, vol. ii. p. 385. A comparison of the statements of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and of the pastoral Epistles of Paul (to Timothy and Titus), which bear on this subject, is very striking and instructive. These epistles are of great importance in the investigation of the topics of eschatology now under consideration. They agree perfectly in the descriptions given of the apostasy which is to take place within the Church of Christ (*ἀποστασία*, 2 Thess. ii. 3, *ἀποστήνεται*, 1 Tim. iv. 1). But in the Epistles of the Thessalonians, which are of an earlier date than the pastoral, when corruption had not insinuated into the Church itself, the historical background on which the prophecy of the apostasy rises, is the unbelief and apostasy of the Old Testament congregation which the apostle perceived (1 Thess. ii. 14-16). Whereas in the pastoral epistles, this prophecy is introduced in connection with the Gnostic seduction, which had at that time gained entrance into the New Testament Church.

For if we glance at the description of judgment contained in the Revelations (chap. xvii.—xix.), we are struck by this remarkable difference, that the harlot is judged first by the beast and its kings, and that afterwards the beasts and their allies are judged by the Parousia of the Lord Jesus himself.

It is our special task, to view attentively the fundamental ideas contained in the chapters mentioned; we may pass over the details there more rapidly, as the preceding remarks contribute towards an understanding of them, and as a minute explanation is impossible before their fulfilment.

1. *The Harlot is judged first.*—This is not only in accordance with the general principle, that judgment must begin at the house of God (Ezek. ix. 6; 1 Pet. iv. 17), but the object here is a restoration of actual truth. For the only reality, or supposed reality, at that time, will be the world; even the Church, which goes a whoring after it, seeking its favour, looks on it as the only reality. Therefore the Church has no right to exist any longer; an end must needs be put to her lie and hypocrisy. Against such a Church the world is in the right, and must attain its right; therefore it is the beast and its kings, and not the Lord Himself, by whom the harlot is judged (Rev. xvii. 13, 16, 17). This is quite in accordance with the fundamental law of God's kingdom, which we meet so often in the Old Testament, that the congregation of God is given over into the hands of that very world-power with which it committed adultery. Egypt is a broken reed to Israel, whereon when they lean, it goes into their hand and pierces it; when they take hold of it, it rends all their shoulder; when they lean on it, it makes all their loins to be at a stand (Ezek. xxix. 5, 6; Isa. xxxvi. 6). Thus Israel's whoredoms with Assyria and Babylou were punished by the Assyrian and Babylonian captivity; its whoredom with Rome by the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the dispersion of the nation among the heathens. And in like manner the Church, who, instead of witnessing against the apostate world-power, committed fornication with her, shall be judged by that very

world-power. The time will come, when worldly rulers will no longer think it necessary to use the Church as a means to their end, when they will shake off the yoke, which in their hypocrisy they bore, give free vent to their pent-up hatred, and they shall make the harlot desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire (*τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς*, plur.), to designate the fulness of carnality into which the Church is sunk (xvii. 16). This judgment on the harlot is described more minutely in its various aspects (xviii. 1 ; xix. 5), first by an angel "having great power," then by another voice from heaven (ver. 4-20) ; after this, thirdly, by a mighty angel (ver. 21-24) ; and this is succeeded by "great voices of much people in heaven" (xix. 1-5), who praise God for the judgment executed. It is impossible to say anything definite on the details of the judgment, which lie in the mysterious future.

The verses 6-10 of the nineteenth chapter, which we considered before, and which describe how the *judgment of the harlot prepares the justification and marriage feast of the woman*, form the transition to the subsequent prophecies. For with the judgment of antichrist (ver. 11-21), and the dawn of the millennial kingdom (xx. 1, etc.), begins the marriage-feast in which the Lord betrothes Himself fully with His congregation, that blessed event of which He himself spoke so often in the days of His humiliation (for example, Matt. xxii. 2 ; xxv. 10 ; Luke xiv. 16 ; xxii. 18, 30). On hearing this glorious promise given to the believers of Jesus, the apostle is transported with thankful adoring, joy on account of such delightful prospects, *and he fell at the feet of the angel*, who spoke to Him (xix. 10). The same occurs again under circumstances very similar, after the New Jerusalem and the eternal glory of the Church are revealed to him (xxii. 8). In both cases, the apostle's falling at the feet of the messenger is preceded by a glorious promise given to the Church, which is confirmed in both cases, by the assurance, "These are the true sayings of God," and by the angel's pronouncing them blessed who keep these sayings (xix. 9 ; xxii. 6, 7). This expression of

deep emotion of gratitude and joy forms a characteristic contrast to the feeling of wonder and astonishment mentioned, chap. xvii. 6, of which we spoke above. It is impossible for the Apocalyptic prophet to repress his sympathetic feelings, when the history of the Church of God is unveiled to him ; he wonders and is amazed when he sees her deep fall ; he adores, when he beholds her future glory and brightness.

2. A second law in the government of God, which we find throughout the Old Testament prophets, is that the world-power, after having served as God's instrument of punishment, is itself judged. Thus Zephaniah, in whose short book a survey of the whole plan of the divine kingdom is given, speaks in his first chapter of the day of wrath against Judah and Jerusalem ; in the second, of the punishment of the heathens, the enemies of the people of God. In like manner does Jeremiah conclude his book, the chief contents of which is the judgment on Jerusalem, through Babylon, with the majestic announcements of the fall of Babylon itself, which are to be found in the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters. And in accordance with this law, the Apocalypse shows us, the judgment of the harlot succeeded by that of the antichristian world-power.

However, the advent of Christ to judge antichrist, and to glorify His Church, does probably not take place, in point of time, immediately after judgment on the harlot is executed ; but this judgment is succeeded by a short intervening period, the period of the triumph of the antichristian kingdom, in the strict sense, that time in which earthly pleasure, worldly-mindedness, and security shall reach their highest point, and which is so frequently described by the Lord Jesus and His apostles, as immediately preceding the coming of the Lord. Here Daniel again coincides with the prophecies of the Revelations, for the judgment of the harlot, and the healing of the deadly wound of the beast, which manifests itself in that judgment, conclude that middle portion of Apocalyptic prophecy, which is peculiar to the New Testament, and is wanting in the Old Testament Apoca-

lypse. The last intensified manifestation of the antichristian power in the last days is also foreseen by Daniel; he describes them as the time and times, and the dividing of time (vii. 24, 25), which we are inclined to think identical with the "three days and a half," during which the two witnesses are to be given over to death.

For this period is at the same time characterised by the most *violent persecutions of Christians* (Rev. xiii. 15-17). The true people of God, the woman, did not perish in the death of the harlot; but before the judgment took place, she was commanded to come out of Babylon, lest in the last culminating period of sinful abomination, she be polluted by Babylon, and thus fall into her destruction (xviii. 4). In like manner, our Saviour commanded His disciples to fly, when they shall see the abomination of desolation in Jerusalem and the temple (Matt. xxiv. 15, 16). Herein consists the first justification of the woman, she is distinguished from the harlot, and not judged with her. But this is only a negative justification, the positive, real glorification has yet to be gained by a severe struggle; here also it behoves her to enter, through much tribulation, into the kingdom of God. This last and greatest affliction, through which the bridal Church has to pass, is not a judgment, such as fell on the harlot, but a time of purification, during which she is cleansed perfectly of all the dross of earthliness, which is still cleaving to her. It is now, when all visible might is against her, that she is taught to place her confidence in the invisible Lord alone, she becomes a voice of prayer, longing for His coming; and in the furnace of affliction, she is inwardly prepared and made meet for the approaching glory. The martyrdom of the last days is the way to transfiguration, nay, it is transfiguration itself in its commencement (Rev. xx. 4). What the Lord Jesus, in the gospel of John, testifies about His own glorification, and His going to the Father, the Apocalypse testifies of the Church and for the Church. In the times of her last suffering, she also may lift up her eyes, as the Lord Jesus did, and lift up her head, because her redemption draweth nigh (Luke xxi. 28).

But not merely the Christians will be persecuted in those days, but also the *Jews*. For, as we saw before, they are meant by the expression the saints of the Most High, against which antichrist makes war, and changes their times and laws (Dan. vii. 21, 25). It is natural, that a true Israelite, who is faithful to the truth delivered to the fathers, cannot join in the idolatry of worshipping the beast, and hence the true Israelites shall be the object of Antichristian fury as well as the true Christians. The Old Testament and the New Testament people of God are here standing together, as opposed to the new heathenism; the distress, common to them both, will bring them into closer contact, and open the heart of Israel. The Christians will rejoice over this, not only because they love the people, of whom is salvation, but also because they see in the new life, which commences to arise among Israel, a pledge of the near approach of the fulfilment of prophecy. For these events, though they do not immediately effect, yet prepare the conversion of the nation of Israel, which the apostle of the Gentiles himself has so clearly led us to expect (Rom. xi.). This is that lowest humiliation of Israel—that complete scattering and breaking of the natural power of the holy people, xii. 7, which, according to the testimony of all prophets, is to precede its exaltation, and which itself, as we saw, in the case of the Christian Church, is the first step of her exaltation. For, in the depth of this distress, they seek their God and their King, the Messiah, and when they see Him coming with the clouds of heaven, they salute Him as also their Saviour, and say: “Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord” (Matt. xxiii. 39). But of this we shall speak at length subsequently.

3. When the security of the world-power, and the distress of the people of God, have reached the highest point, then, as a thief in the night, *the Lord Jesus Christ shall appear from heaven*, put an end to the whole course of the world, and establish His kingdom of glory upon earth. This coming of Christ must be carefully distinguished from His coming to the final judgment.

It is this coming, which both the Apocalyptics Daniel and John, describe (Rev. xix. 11–21; Dan. ii. 34–44; vii. 9–14, 26, 27); it is this coming, by which all shall be fulfilled, which the prophets of the Old Testament have prophesied concerning the Messianic time of peace and prosperity; it is this coming, which the Lord Jesus refers to in His discourse, Matt. xxiv. 29, etc., as distinguished from that spoken of in Matt. xxv. 31; to this advent the apostles always looked forward with longing hope. The expression, Parousia of Christ,¹ denotes, in the New Testament, this advent, and it alone; and this second coming of Christ, viewed in connection with the kingdom established by it upon earth (the millennial), occupies a much more prominent position in the biblical mode of conception, than in that of the modern Church. Passages like Matt. xxiv. 27–31; Acts i. 11; Rev. i. 7, leave scarcely a doubt that this appearance of the Lord will be visible. Moreover the great, and of this there can be no doubt, visible changes, which are thereby produced in the whole form of the world, render it probable; while the fundamental importance of this coming of the Lord, consists, according to the declaration of St Paul (Col. iii. 3, 4), in this, that Christ and His Church shall become manifest and visible, even as before they are hid in God. The advent of Christ has a twofold object—to judge the world-power—and to bring to the Church redemption, transfiguration, and power over the world. Leaving the consideration of the positive aspect to the following part, treating of the millennium, we offer, in conclusion, the following remarks on the judgment:—

Christ appears as the Judge and King, who fulfils faithfully

¹ The expression *παρουσία* does not occur in the Apocalypse; in the gospels, only Matt. xxiv., in the question of the disciples, ver. 3, and the reply of our Lord (ver. 27, 37, 39), who always adds the genitive, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. On the other hand, the word occurs in the general epistles (except Jude); in the Pauline epistles, with the exception of 1 Cor. i. 8; xv. 23, where the *παρουσία* is distinguished from the *τίλος*, commencing with the judgment, only in Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 19; iii. 13; iv. 15; v. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 1, 8); the other passages are James v. 7, 8; 2 Pet. iii. 4, 12; 1 John ii. 28.

and perfectly the word of prophecy at the head of His heavenly host. This appearance, which shall be accompanied by corresponding powerful natural phenomena,¹ is described Rev. xix. 11-16; and then follows in verses 17-21 the *destruction of the antichristian power of the beast and of the false prophet*. The highest, most intense point, which both parties reached in the last days, has made the Church ripe for her glorification, and the antichristian world for destruction. While the former passes through death of the flesh to glory of the Spirit, the latter passes through the glory of the flesh to death—the beast goes into perdition (Rev. xvii. 8, 11; Gal. vi. 8). The world, in its opposition to God, when it has reached the highest development of its material and spiritual power, is, after all, only a decorated carcase, decaying, round which the eagles gather, and to devour which, all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven are called together (Rev. xix. 17, etc.; Matt. xxiv. 28). It is very characteristic, that Antichrist and his kings, in their blindness, imagine that they can wage war against the King of Heaven with earthly power and hosts, ver. 19; herein is manifested the extreme folly of Babylonian confusion, which thinks the world and the flesh possess real strength. Thus they proceed in their insolence. Christ appears with His people; but of an actual encounter between the two armies, there is no mention whatever; on the contrary, the mere appearance of the Lord of Glory is sufficient to show to Antichrist His perfect nothingness; the Lord shall destroy him by the (simple) appearance of His coming (2 Thess. ii. 8). Thus it was, that as John tells us in his gospel, the enemies of Jesus went backward and fell to the ground, when He said to them, "I am He" (John xviii. 6). Paralysed by deadly terror, the beast and the false prophet (or, as Öttinger expresses it, Antichrist and his philosophers), at the head of their armies, shall be seized, and, without resistance, be cast into the lake of fire into hell, ver. 20.

¹ Rev. vi. 12, etc.; xi. 19; Matt. xxiv. 29, etc.; Isa. xlii. 6; Joel iii. 3, etc.; Hagg. ii. 7; Zech. xiv. 5, etc.

Whereas their adherents, the kings, and captains, and mighty men, and those under them, are only killed by the sharp sword which goeth out of Christ's mouth—that is, by his breath, his sentence of judgment (ver. 21 and 15; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Heb. iv. 12). Thus, it seems that a difference is made between seducers and the seduced, and although the punishment of the latter is awful (comp. xiv. 9–11), yet the punishment which falls on the former is still more awful, and is destined to serve peculiarly as an example. Of such gradations of a perfectly just and accurately measured retribution, of such different gradations of condemnation, we find scattered hints elsewhere (Matt. xi. 22, 24; Luke xii. 47, 48; John xix. 11).

The description which St Paul gives of the judgment of Anti-christ in the passage, which offered many parallel views to the Apocalypse, 2 Thess. ii. 8, though not so minute, yet coincides completely with our chapter. This judgment puts an end, for all times, to the beast; it is destroyed from off the earth; the world-kingsdoms, in the form they had previously, now cease for ever; the history of the world assumes now a character totally different from its character hitherto. In place of the kingdom of the beast comes the kingdom of the Son of Man, and His saints.

III. THE MILLENNIUM.

Daniel and St John both describe the millennial kingdom, but from different points of view. The prophet of the Old Testament, quite in harmony with the stand-point of the Old Covenant, describes chiefly the earthly; the New Testament Apocalypse, chiefly the spiritual aspect of the coming of the kingdom of God. And, as we have noticed before, that both apocalyptic books are consummations of the entire prophecy of their respective Testaments, so it is here, Dan. ii. 35, 44; vii. 13, 27, contain a short summary of all Old Testament; Rev. xx. 1–6, a summary of all New Testament prophecy, concerning

the kingdom of glory upon earth. A great number of prophetic passages, and many beautiful and deep passages in gospels and epistles, serve to fill up these grand general outlines. Nor are there passages wanting in the New Testament, which form connecting links between the earthly and spiritual mode of viewing the kingdom.

It will be useful to consider all these points carefully, since the doctrine of the millennial kingdom is sadly misrepresented and neglected. And very unjustly. For this doctrine does not rest, as is often thought, upon an isolated passage in the Apocalypse, but the whole prophecy of the Old Covenant cannot be rightly understood without it. And, with regard to the New Testament, the fundamental idea of the doctrine of Christ, in which is concentrated the sum and substance of Messianic prophecy, the idea of the kingdom of God indicates, by its very name, its close relation to the doctrine now under consideration. The general view on this subject is, that the Lord Jesus preached an exclusively internal, moral, spiritual kingdom of God, in opposition to the external and carnal Messianic expectations of the Jewish people. But, as the Jews, at the time of our Saviour, had fallen into a materialistic extreme, so the current view of our days runs into the opposite spiritualistic extreme. It is true that it was necessary for our Lord to oppose the carnal expectations of the nation, and to insist, with double emphasis, on the spiritual internal conditions of partaking in the kingdom, namely, repentance and faith. But He, by no means, dissolves the kingdom into mere inwardness; but it is to Him, as Schmidt expresses it,¹ the divine order of things, which is realized by Him, the Messiah, and which develops itself from within outwardly. Thus, the kingdom of God has different periods; it is come in Christ (Matt. xii. 28); it spreads in the world by internal, spiritual, hidden processes (Matt. xiii. 33); but as a kingdom, in the strict sense of the word, in royal glory, it shall only come with the Parousia of Christ

¹ Chr. Fr. Schmidt, bibl. Theol. des N. T. i., p. 325.

(Luke xix. 11, 12, 15), even as we are, according to Christ's command, to pray even now, day after day, Thy kingdom come (Matt. vi. 10). And hereby is not meant the eternal blessedness after final judgment, which is, indeed, the last and perfect consummation of the kingdom (Matt. xxv. 34); but, anterior to that event, it shall come as an earthly, Jewish, although not carnal, kingdom of glory. Thus the prophets described it, and Jesus does in no way contradict them, but, on the contrary, presupposing their prophecies, his own prophecies start from them (Matt. xix. 28; Acts i. 6-8). Jesus was, consequently, as all prophets and apostles were, a Chiliast.

Lechler, whose sobriety of judgment is well known, makes the following remark on St Paul:¹ "A number of expressions in the Epistles of St Paul, point to an earthly kingdom of glory, as is clear to every unprejudiced reader; and of all eschatological points, this is the one on which his epistles are most unanimous." Two extremes must be carefully avoided. The details of the future kingdom must not be described, or painted more distinctly and circumstantially than the statements of the divine word warrant; but, on the other hand, we are as little justified in spiritualising and etherialising the numerous sayings of the Lord and His prophets and apostles, or in explaining them away by a tortuous interpretation. And the latter is the predominant mistake, even with orthodox commentators. Not only Rationalism, but even before the appearance of Rationalism, the Church had lost the understanding of the grand divine development of the kingdom. That very thing happened to us Gentile-Christians, against which the Apostle Paul gave us such emphatic warning (Rom. xi. 17); we have forgotten that we are wild branches grafted into the noble olive tree of Israel; we have become fixed in the unbiblical idea, that Christianity is only for ourselves and for world-relations like the present; we do not think much about the people of the election and the future

¹ Das Apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter, p. 82.

of Israel, and hence also little about Chiliasm ; our eschatological ideas are confined to the blessedness in heaven, and it is only in a very external and unconnected way, that we think of the final judgment as a consummation in the distant background. And yet only Roman Catholicism ought consistently to oppose such a view of the relationship subsisting between world and kingdom of God, as we have derived in the preceding pages from the statements of Scripture. For the papacy is, in its inmost essence, a false anticipation of the millennial kingdom during the Church historical period—a confusion of Church and kingdom ; the rights, Roos remarks (p. 121, 125), which Rome as a harlot usurped, shall then be exercised in holiness by the bride of the Lamb. The Reformation, which was sent to direct us again to rest on faith alone, ought to have cured us of similar strong errors current among Protestants now-a-days, according to which, instead of believing, people wish to see and to do works. The evangelical principle of faith cannot be thoroughly and perfectly comprehended, except by the biblical fundamental view of the divine kingdom and its development. And to enter into this view, by a deep study of the prophetic word, is the task of modern theology. The reason why the Lord offers this understanding to His Church at this present time, in ways so manifold and different, is because she requires it for the struggles that await her. *Öttinger* already says—"Of the conversion of the Jews, theologians speak only exegetically, nay even problematically, and this is much more the case with reference to the millennial kingdom. Why? Because the measure of knowledge vouchsafed to former times could not contain these doctrines. But, in our days, a clearer knowledge is developing. And even now, we can see more clearly the connection of the Articles of Faith and Eschatology."¹

¹ Compare my work, "Die Theosophie *Öttinger's*," etc., p. 294.—Some spiritual glances of this deep thinker into the "golden time," as he calls the millennium, will be found: *Ibid.* p. 502.

I. STATEMENTS OF THE REVELATIONS OF ST JOHN AND THE
NEW TESTAMENT IN GENERAL.

The number of a thousand years, as the duration of the kingdom, is peculiar to the Apocalypse. We have pointed out, in a previous part, that this number is to be viewed chiefly in its symbolical significance. Ten, the number which symbolises the world in its completeness and fulness, appears here raised to the power three, the number of God; that is, the world is now penetrated perfectly and thoroughly by the divine element. Whether this number is meant to denote, with chronological accuracy, the duration of the kingdom, remains uncertain. *Bengel* and his followers suppose two millennia, which, as shall be shown subsequently, arises from an exegetical misunderstanding. The first thing the Apocalypse tells us concerning the millennial kingdom, is the binding of Satan, and that he is cast into the bottomless pit, and shut up (xx. 1-3). The reason why this is mentioned first is, because it is organically connected with the preceding chapter (xix. 20). Even as the casting of Satan out of heaven (xii. 7) was not an act of arbitrary violence, but the legitimate execution of judgment, which passed on him through the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, so it is likewise at this stage of his history. Time had been given him to exercise his might and cunning on earth, and he succeeded in making the beast and the harlot powerful; and, finally, he concentrated all his power in Antichrist. But here also, when he thought he had gained his object, he was defeated. After the antichristian kingdom is destroyed, and utterly broken by the mere appearance of Christ, the Lord of Glory, the power of the devil on earth is at an end, as it was at an end in heaven after Christ's ascension. Satan imagined that he had overcome Christ on Golgotha, and that now his power was secure for ever; but, in his death, the Lord was not vanquished, but achieved the

victory, ascended to His Father's throne, and cast the devil out of heaven. And, in like manner, Satan thinks to destroy the people of God on earth by the persecutions of the Antichristian power, and thus to attain to unlimited and unrivalled dominion on earth; but this very persecution is the maturing of the church for glory. She is not destroyed from the earth, but raised to rule over it; and Satan is cast into the bottomless pit, and shut up. The Lord, who appears to destroy Antichrist, does not personally judge and punish Satan; this is always done by ministering angels. In the twelfth chapter, we saw it was the Archangel Michael; in the twentieth chapter, an angel only is mentioned; in the tenth verse of that chapter, no agency is spoken of. Compare our remarks on the history of the devil, in connection with xii. 7.

Even now Satan cannot accuse, in heaven, those who are justified by the blood of Jesus; but, on earth, he can cause them the severest struggles; but, during the millennium, he shall not be able to do even this. Then he ceases, not only to be an accuser, but also to be a seducer; and thus an awful curse is taken from the world of nature and humanity. As long as the devil rules in the darkness of the world, we live in an atmosphere poisonous and impregnated with deadly elements (Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12). A mighty purification of the air will be effected by Christ's coming; and, if we consider of what importance air is for our life, we can scarcely form an idea of the vast consequences of this event. Humanity will be freed, as it were, from a nightmare, which weighed on it. Everything good will develop freely; and, though sin will not be absolutely abolished—for men will be still living in the flesh upon earth—sin will no longer be a universal power. It may manifest itself in individuals separately, but even in them it will necessarily lose much of its power, since the flesh is not any longer seduced and assisted by the powers of Satan. Whereas, at present, Satan is still god and prince—the ruling power of the world—and spiritual, regenerate men are isolated phenomena: in the millennium, the

case is the reverse : humanity, as a whole, is ruled spiritually ; the world no more lieth in the wicked one ; and the flesh becomes ever more isolated, and is overcome. This is the difference between the αἰὼν οὗτος and the αἰὼν μέλλων : in this aeon the devil is still ruling on earth (2 Cor. iv. 4) ; in the future Christ shall reign with his saints.

And this leads us to the second point. The Apocalypse states, as a characteristic feature of the millennium, that the earth (ver. 10 ; Matt. v. 5) *is governed by Christ and His transfigured Church*. The binding of Satan is, like the thousand years, peculiar to our book ; though, strictly speaking, Isaiah prophesies the same thing, when he says : “ And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall punish the host of the high ones that are on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited ” (Isaiah xxiv. 21 ; compare also passages in which the abolition of all sin and impurity is spoken of, Isaiah iv. 3 ; xi. 9 ; xxxv. 8). But, of the saints’ participation in the glory and reign of Christ, the New Testament throughout speaks often and fully : συνοξάζεσθαι (Rom. viii. 17) ; συμβασιλεύειν (2 Tim. ii. 12 ; 1 Cor. iv. 8 ; Rom. v. 17 ; Luke xii. 32 ; xxii. 29). To this refer also sayings concerning the inheritance of the children of God, the inheriting of the kingdom, especially Rom. viii. 17. (Comp. Matt. v. 5 ; Acts xx. 32 ; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 ; xv. 50 ; Gal. v. 21 ; Ephes. i. 14, 18 ; v. 5 ; Col. iii. 24 ; James ii. 5).

Among the saints who are called to reign with Christ, the martyrs of ancient and modern times are mentioned first ; they became most like to the Lord Jesus in their suffering and death, and are, therefore, nearest Him in His life and reign. For, as in punishment, so also in reward, there are various gradations. In His conversation with the mother of the sons of Zebedee, the Lord does not only not deny, but He indirectly affirms, that there are places of honour in His kingdom, on His right hand

and on His left, but which only they can attain who drink of His cup, and are baptized with His baptism (Matt. xx. 22); and the Saviour teaches expressly, that, at His second coming, as King of the kingdom, He shall place one of the servants over ten cities, the other over five, according to the measure of faithfulness they showed during His absence (Luke xix. 11).

Next to the martyrs, are mentioned all who (*οἰσίνες*) had not worshipped the beast, be it in more remote times or (*οὔτε*, etc.) in the last days, which are referred to by the image and the mark upon their foreheads, as will appear from a comparison with Rev. xiii. 14–17. Worshipers of the beast are all they who take the powers of this world as a reality, and serve it, instead of looking to things invisible and future (2 Cor. iv. 17, 18). We saw, in our previous remarks, that every one must choose, and either join the beast or belong to the woman. Hence our passage refers to the whole congregation of believers, who are born of God; to God's children (Rom. viii. 17), gathered out of Israel and the Gentiles, uniting the hundred and forty-four thousand, from the twelve tribes of Israel, and the innumerable multitude of all nations, which John saw in the vision of the seventh chapter.

These have been with Christ in heaven, but appear now with Him, and are then no longer invisible (2 Thess. i. 7–10; Rev. xvii. 14). But in order that they may become visible, they are clothed in the moment of their appearance, with their bodies, which are pervaded by heavenly spirit and life-power, and are spiritual bodies, and thus they pass completely into the perfect life of transfiguration. This is the *first resurrection* (Rev. xx. 4–6) as distinguished from the second, general one, which is mentioned in the twelfth verse. Of this first resurrection our Saviour likewise speaks (Luke xiv. 14), and designates it as the resurrection of the just; and Paul also (1 Cor. xv. 23), where he evidently distinguishes three gradations of resurrection: Christ, the first fruits, rose first; then they who belong to Him at His appearance; then—*εἶτα*, corresponding to *ἔπειτα*, that preceded,

and again introducing a considerable interval—the end, that is, the general resurrection, judgment of the world, separation of the wicked; the end, when Christ delivers the kingdom to the Father, and God will be all and all.

The passage, 1 Thess. iv. 16, must also be viewed in this connection. Quite in accordance with the former passage, Paul speaks here of the resurrection of those who had fallen asleep in Christ. Some have even maintained, that Paul did not know of the resurrection of unbelievers; against this Acts xxiv. 15, to mention only one passage, is sufficient; likewise compare Phil. iii. 20, 21, where the transfiguration of the bodies of believers, whose conversation is even now in heaven, is taught to be connected with the coming of Christ; and in the same chapter, ver. 11, where the expression *ἐξανάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν* is remarkable, which Theophylact and Œcumenius perceived, the resurrection from among the dead from the general resurrection.

The same apostle supplements the doctrine of the first resurrection by viewing it from a different aspect. The Apocalypse, which sees the second coming more distinctly as a *future* event, speaks only of the resurrection, whereas Paul, who thought it possible that he himself would live to see the Parousia, gives us also disclosures concerning those who should be on earth at that time, the saints who are consequently not destroyed in the last persecution; *they are changed*, in such a manner, that the old natural body passes over without death into a new transfigured body; it is not unclothed but clothed upon, in that mortality is swallowed up of life (1 Cor. xv. 51–53; 2 Cor. v. 4). From the latter passage it is evident, that we are not to conceive of the transfiguration of the body as taking place at the end and in the general resurrection, for the apostle wishes it for his own person instead of death. Immediately connected with the resurrection of the dead is the transfiguration of those who will be then living on the earth, and the living thus changed, freed from the weight of the earthly and corruptible, and transplanted into the essential liberty of spirit, can now, even as the transfigured

Saviour ascended up on high, be *caught up in the clouds to meet the returning Lord in the air* (1 Thess. iv. 17; comp. Rev. xi. 11, etc., where it is said of the two witnesses, they ascended up to heaven in a cloud).

In the resurrection and transfiguration it becomes manifest, that the world has no true power over the Church, but that the Church has real power over the world. Freed, even externally, from the world and its essence, and transplanted into a heavenly existence and divine glory, the Church is now justified in a positive manner before the world, comp. Rev. xi. 12, "and their enemies beheld them!" The fierce powerful beast, with its false prophet, is cast into the lake of fire, and thus has become a prey to the second death, Rev. xx. 3-14. The poor, weak, persecuted woman is exalted to the majesty, not merely of an earthly, but of a heavenly throne (iii. 21; ii. 26-28), and enjoys now eternal glory in her union with Christ, her divine bridegroom (xix. 7). Therefore it is, that the Apostle Paul represents the Parousia as a special object of Christian joy and hope: And so shall we ever be with the Lord (1 Thess. iv. 17); and connects the coming of our Lord and our gathering together unto Him, 2 Thess. ii. 1. The Lord Jesus speaks of the same event, using the same expression (*ἐπισυναγωγή ἐπισυναΐξουσιν*); the elect, hitherto scattered throughout all the world, isolated, oppressed, are now gathered together by the angels, and shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of the Father (Matt. xxiv. 31; xiii. 43). They, who were heavenly minded and bore Christ's cross in this world, and esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, are now openly manifested as the first fruits of the creatures of God (Matt. xvi. 24; Heb. xi. 26; James i. 18). They are, secondly, united among themselves in an everlasting and deep union, as all separations and fetters of the flesh have fallen away. And, thirdly, they enter into a union of transfigured life with Christ and God, a union as perfect as can be attained by any creature in eternity.

But this does not yet exhaust their blessedness. They are

ordained to be a blessing to their brethren who are still in the flesh. They do not only live in the highest sense of the word, but they likewise reign with Christ a thousand years. (Rev. xx. 4 ; Rom. v. 17.) After having gathered His Church, and after having taken His bride to Himself, Christ returns with her to heaven. Earth is not as yet transfigured, and can, consequently, not be the locality meet for the transfigured Church. But from heaven the saints now rule the earth, whence we may conclude, that one of the glories of the millennium shall consist in the much freer and more vivid communion of the heavenly and earthly churches in particular, and the lower and higher world in general ; a type of which state may be seen in the forty days of the risen Saviour, during which He appeared to His disciples. And is it not natural, that after the prince of darkness, whose rule was in the air, and who blinded the children of men (Eph. ii. 2 ; 2 Cor. iv. 4) is banished, the brightness of heaven should shine more clearly upon the earth, and the eye of the inhabitants of earth see more clearly into heaven ? In this respect we must view the millennial kingdom as a time of new divine revelations, which reappear after the long pause during the church-historical time. As Hofmann remarks (Schriftbeweis, i. p. 54 ; comp. Weissag. u. Erfüll. ii. 285-88): " There now commences a manifestation of God through the perfected Church ; a manifestation of God to humanity then on earth, through the instrumentality of the perfect Church. By which manifestation the social life of humanity is influenced unto obedience to the divine power, which is shown and realized in the perfect Church by which the God-opposed element is prevented from exerting its power in the way of forming communions or combinations." Thus not only does the evil spiritual influence, which the prince of the world exerted on humanity in the preceding ages, cease, but in place of it the transfigured children of God obtain a most blessed dominion over the world, and they know no higher joy than to lead their brethren to the same salvation and glory in which they themselves partake.

They are kings, because they are priests (ver. 6 ; comp. i. 6 ; v. 10) ; the priesthood is the continuous ground and legitimisation of their kingship. They have the rights of kings in their relation to man ; because they exercise the duties of priests in their relation to God and Christ, they serve Him day and night in His temple (vii. 15). And thus the reign of the saints will be essentially a reign of priests. Let it not be imagined, as if, in the millennial kingdom, salvation is to be mediated in an external manner, instead of an internal pneumatic one ; as if, then, instead of grace, power was to be effective. Even as we may now see the union of mercy and righteousness in the work of divine redemption, we will then behold mercy, righteousness, and power, harmoniously united. The way of the Lord is, and ever will be, a way of holiness. His kingdom is a kingdom of spiritual glory, and not of carnal glory, as Jews and Anabaptists dreamed. In the place of the government of the world by Satan, there is put, not a government of the world by men, who are living in the flesh, and who might possibly seek a satisfaction of their own desires ; nor a government by good angels, whose influence would be merely an influence of power, but by transfigured men, who are what they are, only in the strength of God's Redemption. They manifest and show what Christ can effect in man by His mercy. The charms which the power and pleasures and possessions of this world exert on our minds, will then be exercised by the glory of the transfigured Church ; then men will delight to be subject to the priests and kings of their Head Christ. In the day of the Lord's power, the people will be all willingness, and the earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea (Psalm cx. 3 ; Hab. ii. 14). Thus, the millennial kingdom is a mighty progress, but not a violent one ; it is a new phase of life in the course of the subjugation of the world under the principles of Christianity. The Lord suffered, in the commencement, the world to continue its existence ; He was satisfied to send only witnesses for His salvation, prophets, teachers, and wise men,

without external power and glory, in poverty, and with the signature of the cross (Luke xxiv. 48; Matt. xxiii. 34; x. 9). The world had full liberty to oppose not only false prophecy to the testimony of Christ, but also a false kingship and priesthood. But now they have been judged, and have passed into perdition, and therefore the Church of God is not only the witness and prophet (δύο μάρτυρες = δύο προφῆται, xi. 3, 10); but the priesthood and kingship are hers, even according to formal legal right. Hence, it is not only the simple word which is effective, but "a new method of divine education can now be introduced." Now there exists *de facto*: a Sabbath kept by transfigured men, continuously offering up a service in the purity and blessedness of a perfect spiritual life; and it is evident to all, that they, who are thus near God, serving Him, have power over the whole world. The priest-kings rule, therefore, simply in virtue of what they are. This is not a power working in an external mechanical manner; it is a power, certainly, but a power of attraction, of conviction, a power which influences and overcomes the heart. And if we remember that this power is not counteracted by either devil or beast, oh, who can imagine the glory of that future development of the kingdom of God, when, all obstacles and enemies being removed, Christ and His saints will, by their spiritual rule, direct all external relations and circumstances!

It is, then, that Christianity will pervade the world and all relations of life in spirit and in truth; the union of the royal and priestly office, in the ruling saints will be mirrored in their kingdom upon earth, in the union of Church and State, that is, in the *kingdom* of God, as distinguished from the mere church, which is at present still the form under which Christianity exists.¹ The kingdom is based on the royal, the kingdom of God and heaven on the priestly office of the congregation. It shall then be manifest that, as *Rothe* expresses it, Christ is not

¹ Compare the development of the ideas *ἐκκλησία* and *βασιλεία* and their relation to each other in *Baumgarten*. Apostolic History, English Translation, vol. ii., p. 345.

merely a clericus, or pastor, but a high-priestly King. Spiritual-mindedness will manifest itself everywhere in corresponding, unfettered, external forms. "Secular" and "spiritual" are distinctions which shall then be overthrown. There will be no beast in opposition to the woman; then man will rejoice in God, and rejoice in the world, all poetry, all art, all science, all social life, will be Christian and worldly; for the world, the kingdoms of the world, are now kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ. Theocracy is now restored as Christocracy, not in the letter, but in essence and spirit (Rev. xi. 15). It is upon this present earth, that it must be shown and proved, that the devil, who pretended to be its rightful lord, was only a usurper; man, who was created "to have dominion over earth," is to rejoice over *his* world with full, unmixed, holy, joy. Every legitimate and true ideal will then become a reality.

But hereby the dealings of divine mercy and patience are at an end. Not only men, then living on earth, but also the dead not yet risen (Rev. xx. 5, 12), have an opportunity thus given them of seeing in the transfigured Church of Christ on earth, what glory the Lord Jesus Christ can give to humanity. He, who resists even such a manifestation, and remains in his opposition to Christ, falls into eternal judgment; but whoso taketh hold of salvation, will, on the last day, and at the general resurrection, be yet added to the number of the living.

II. STATEMENTS OF DANIEL AND THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GENERAL.

Whereas the Apocalypse of John, in accordance with the characteristic essence of the New Testament, unveils to us, in connection with the millennial kingdom, the supernatural background of the spiritual world, it is the object of Daniel, and the Old Testament prophecies in general, to give disclosures chiefly concerning the earthly aspect of the same kingdom. The former tells us, that, instead of the devil, the transfigured Church of

Christ ; the latter informs us, that in place of the heathen beast, the holy people Israel shall rule the world. Both agree in what is of central importance, that it is Christ the Son of Man, who now rules humanity, by His transfigured Church in heaven, and by His people Israel on earth. If the question be put, why the future of Israel is not mentioned again in the prophecies of St John, the answer is simply this : 'The Apocalypse was given for the Gentile-Christian times ; its object is to tell the New Testament Church, chiefly gathered from the Gentiles, what it is necessary for her to know during her pilgrimage through the wilderness. The Apocalypse is the Travelling Manual of the Church, it describes her history.¹ Israel, as a nation, does, therefore, not come within its range. Israel has its own apocalypse in Daniel ; it has, moreover, the other prophets, and the unfulfilled prophecies they contain are true, and will surely be fulfilled, since they are words of the living God. The Revelation of John does not repeat them all ; it was not necessary that it should, but it sheds upon them New Testament light out of the heavens, opened to the beloved disciple. But, moreover, the New Testament Apocalypse contains an express confirmation of the entire Old Testament prophecy (Rev. x. 7). In the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God shall be finished, as He hath declared to His servants the prophets. And that this refers specially to the kingdom of the millennium is evident, from xi. 15, where the seventh angel sounds, and it was proclaimed : The kingdoms of this world are the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.

The Parousia of Christ had the twofold object, to judge and destroy apostate Christendom, and to save the faithful congregation, which is then caught up with Christ into heaven. But the

¹ In modern times the Apocalypse has been styled a "Judaizing production." With what justice, the reader of our remarks may decide. The book is Jewish, even as the whole Bible is. Paul's epistles are, if possible, still more Jewish than the Revelation. The prophetic form is by no means peculiar to the Judaizers.

majority of humanity then living belonged neither to the one class nor the other, and remains after the Parousia on earth ; they consist of Jews and heathens. The harlot, as we saw, corresponded to pharisaical Judaism ; the two beasts were sunk into a new heathenism. Thus the false elements which existed at the first advent of Christ had insinuated themselves into Christendom, and as such they are both judged. But besides the harlot and the beast, there exist on earth Judaism and heathenism in their old shape, without reference to Christianity ; and in this form they are comparatively innocent, because they have not yet come into close contact with the gospel of mercy, and are therefore not guilty of rejecting it and trampling it under foot. Sin is perfect and ripe for judgment, when it rejects, in unbelief, the word of Christ ; we know this from Mark xvi. 16 ; John iii. 18, 36. Hence Judaism and heathenism in the strict sense, that is, Israel and the heathen, living at the time of the Parousia, are the comparatively healthy elements which form the new soil of a new development. And this is part of the humiliation of the modern civilized nations, that nations which they despise most, Jews and uncivilized barbarians (perhaps chiefly the Negroes of Africa, the Hamites, who, on account of the curse of Noah, have been so backward and neglected, Kush, Seba, etc., Psalms lxviii. 31 ; lxxii. 10) shall succeed them and surpass them as centres of the world's history. Here we can see the old law of the kingdom : " They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not good ; they have provoked me to anger with their vanities, therefore I also will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people. I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation " (Deut. xxxii. 21 ; Rom. x. 19). As it happened to the Jews concerning the Gentiles, thus it is now with the Gentile-Christians in reference to the Jews, as Paul has described it (Rom. xi. 20, etc.) for our warning.

At the beginning of the millennial kingdom, humanity will be in a condition similar to that in which it was at the commence-

ment of the church-historical time, after the ascension of the Saviour. Again Israel and the heathens shall be the representatives of history, and opposed to them we see the Christian congregation, wishing to christianize them. But everything is now on a higher degree of development. Not only has the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom among Jews and heathens, before the second advent of the Lord, prepared the dawn of light (Matt. xxiv. 14), so that the nations can understand something of the wonderful events attending the appearance of our Lord,¹ but the events themselves, the coming of Christ in glory, the destruction of the Antichristian power, the transfiguration of the church of believers, the binding of Satan, and the ceasing of satanic influences, must necessarily produce an unspeakably deep impression on the nations. Now the veil of Moses is taken from Israel, and the face of covering, which was cast over all people, is broken (2 Cor. iii. 14-16; Isaiah xxv. 7). Whereas, as at the beginning of the church-historical period, Israel had become hardened and ripe for judgment, and the heathen world, though it contained many souls anxiously waiting for salvation, concealed in its obscure depths many temptations. Thus all things are changed and new in that portion of the human race which is to be receptive. Much greater are the changes which have taken place in that other part of humanity which the Lord hath chosen to be the organ of His work on earth, viz., the congregation of believers. She no longer consists of a poor, little, flock of witnesses, bearing the divine treasure in earthen vessels (2 Cor. iv. 7), but she is now a band of transfigured priest-kings, who rule over the earth. In short, the *Church* began after Christ's ascension, but now the *kingdom* has come.

Israel is again to be at the head of all humanity. We, from

¹ Hence *Stier* (Reden Jesu ii. 545) remarks, speaking of Matt. xxiv. 14: "When the two signs which are connected, apostasy of Christendom and extension of missions, in their wonderful contrast and coincidence, shall have reached their highest development—then the end is at hand."

our one-sided Gentile-Christian point of view, have at first difficulty to take in and reconcile ourselves to this idea.¹ But although the Church lost this view, it is yet of such importance and significance in Holy Scripture, that, in strict truth, it must be designated as an important key to the understanding of the prophetic word. If this truth is viewed in its Biblical connection, it will lose the appearance of an arbitrary and accidental character, which may at first seem to attach to it. Holy Scripture looks on the human race, not as an aggregate of individuals and nationalities, but her view of world and humanity is a thoroughly organic one, and laid down, once for all, in the very first pages of Revelation. Nature is a great organism, which, in its various and successively created gradations, is striving upwards to its Head: Man; all irrational creation, is connected with him as its ruler and lord (Gen. i.). The creation of man commences a life, higher than the life of nature—a life based upon free personality in the image of God—the life of history. The spiritual nobility of humanity is primarily

¹ The consequence and punishment of our traditional theology not acknowledging the importance of Israel, may be seen in the modern depreciation of the Old Testament, and in the still more recent decomposition of the New, by our most modern criticism. The latter proceeds from the correct observation, that in the New Testament there are a number of passages and views, which appear, to our abstract Gentile-Christian stand-point, irrational and inconceivable, and that original Christianity was of a more Jewish type than that of the Churches. Hence a school, which was estranged from the spirit of Revelation in general, and incapable of understanding the Old Testament in particular, could easily succeed in representing primitive Christianity as contradicting the Christianity of later times, and in representing the former as Ebionitic and weak beginnings.

Let this aberration serve to direct theology and the Church to an important and hitherto much overlooked truth. Scholastic and orthodox spiritualising abstractions and unhistorical interpretations, have prepared and paved the way for rationalism in this as well as in other respects. We cannot understand Holy Scripture, except by relinquishing the dry abstractions of the West, and entering into the concrete fulness of the East; and the spiritual aspect of this hermeneutical principle is, to exchange Gentile ratiocination for Jewish intuition, that is, that intuition which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, was peculiar to all the authors of the Old and New Testament writings.

expressed in its unity. Natural differences are of subordinate importance ; all have sprung from one blood, and have the same endowment and destiny. Notwithstanding, the life of history is not monotony and sameness, and therefore the human race has likewise its organic structure and gradations. Hamites, Japhetites, and Shemites, are, according to Gen. ix. and x., the three grand groups of nations forming humanity, in which an ancient comparison saw a parallelism to the three fundamental elements in the individual man—body, soul, and spirit. Moreover, at the head of individual nations, and groups of nations, as well as at the head of the whole race, there stand personal Fathers and Representatives, who impress their spiritual bodily character on their descendants. Such is one of the living, concrete, fundamental views of Scripture, which have hitherto not been sufficiently recognised and appreciated. Through the words of blessing which Noah pronounced (Gen. ix. 26), Shem is chosen as the chief representative of pneumatic life, as the mediator of the fundamental relations of humanity to God. But the blossom and flower of Shem is Israel (Gen. xi.) ; even as the flower of Israel is He in whom the whole race is to be summed up, as in its second Adam, the spiritual Head (comp. Gen. xii. 1–3). Thus the people of Israel receives for all times the destiny, to be recipient and mediator of divine revelations. When Israel appears for the first time as a people in Egypt, God sends His word to Pharaoh ; Israel is my first-born son (Exod. iv. 22). And immediately before the giving of the law on Sinai, the Lord says (Exod. xix. 5, 6), “ Now therefore if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people ; for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.” Thus Israel stands in the same relation to humanity as a priest stands to the nation ; it mediates in the relations of humanity to God (*πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, Heb. v. 1). Hereby the relation of Israel to the nations is fixed, not merely for the times of the Old Covenant,

during which Israel did not even exercise her priestly office as regards the heathens, but for all times, and for ever. Because "the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (Rom. xi. 29). It is remarkable, that the same apostle, who preaches so frequently and so emphatically, that in Christ the distinction of Jew and Gentile is abrogated—that in him circumcision and uncircumcision are of no avail (Rom. iii. 29; Gal. iii. 28, vi. 15; Eph. ii. 13–18 Col. iii. 11), attributes to Israel a peculiar advantage and pre-eminence, in saying, that the noble olive-tree of the kingdom of God is, properly and strictly speaking, their own (*ἰδία*), and in designating even the unbelieving and rejected Jews as the natural branches (*κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι*, Rom. xi. 21–24), whereas he represents the believing Gentiles as only grafted in; contrary to nature (*παρὰ φύσιν*, ver. 24). How is this contradiction to be solved? Simply by considering the different points of view from which Scripture stands in the different passages and representations quoted above. From the *religious* point of view, in their relation to God and Christ, as needing mercy and salvation, Gentiles and Jews stand on a perfect equality; the same righteousness is imputed to them, the same glory is given them, they have the same part in Christ, and by Him both have access to the Father in One Spirit. We see this also in the transfigured Church, which consists of both Jews and Gentiles. But from the stand-point of the history of revelation, as regards the way in which God uses men as instruments to bring about the objects of His kingdom, the case is altogether different; from this point of view Israel is, and ever shall be, the chosen people through which God executes His plans concerning humanity. The relation of Jews and Gentiles is quite similar to that of man and woman. The last difference does likewise not exist in Christ; and the apostle (Gal. iii. 28) joins the two expressly: there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female. But although man and woman are equal in Christ, and before God, and have the same privileges and rights of mercy, yet woman is subordinate to man not only

in the house, but also, essentially, in the Church (1 Cor. xiv. 34 ; 1 Tim. ii. 11, etc.). The woman is not to teach, but to ask her husband for instruction. Thus the Jews are our teachers in divine things. They are our teachers even in the New Testament times. Since their rejection, the voice of divine revelation has been silent. But if we wish to hear God's word in these times without revelation, we must turn to the writings of Jews, since the whole Bible, even the New Testament, is written by Jews. Jesus and His apostles were Jews. Therefore if revelation is to recommence in the millennial kingdom, it is necessary that converted Israel stand at the head of humanity. The Israelitish priest-kings are upon earth what the transfigured priest-kings are in heaven. Then there shall be a blessed glorious chain of giving and receiving—God, Christ, the transfigured bride the Church, Israel, the world of nations—similar to the word in 1 Cor. xi. 3 : The head of the woman is man, the head of every man is Christ, and the Head of Christ is God.

To enter circumstantially into the whole prophetic doctrine of Israel's future, does not come within the bounds of our present task. It is only necessary for us to mention the most important points of view. The whole Old Testament is full of prophecies on this subject. They begin with the Pentateuch, and conclude with Malachi. The predictions contained in Lev. xxvi. 31–45 ; Deut. xxviii. 62–68, xxix. 22, xxx. 14, xxxii. 15–43, concerning Israel's apostasy and dispersion among the heathens, and then concerning its conversion and glorious re-establishment in the Holy Land, were not exhaustively fulfilled in the short decennia of the Assyrian and Babylonian exile, and in the troublous centuries of the restoration which followed those captivities. On the contrary, the curse lies even this day on the Jewish nation, and the promised restoration awaits yet its fulfilment and realization. For him who believes in the fulfilment of prophecy, it is only necessary to read the words of Scripture, in order to be persuaded of this. The great commen-

tary on the history of revelation is given us in the miraculous preservation of the Jewish nation through all centuries to our time, while other ancient nationalities are either destroyed, or have mixed to such extent with other nations, that they are disfigured, even to such a degree, that they can scarcely be recognised—a preservation which is doubly miraculous, since Israel is dispersed in all countries of the earth, whereas other nations have their fixed stationary residences. For, as the prophecy of Lev. xxvi. 44, 45, concludes, “And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them, for I am the Lord their God; and I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought out of the land of Egypt, in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God; I am the Lord.” In such passages of the Pentateuch are contained the outlines of all prophecy. The Messianic Psalms, productions of the Theocratic blossom-and-flower-time under David and Solomon, dwell, in accordance with the character of the period, not so much on the negative aspect, apostasy, humiliation, and restoration of the people, but rather on the positive, the future glory, which consists on the one side in judgment executed on the hostile kings and nations (Ps. ii. and cx.), on the other in the power of attraction, which Israel’s God, and King, and divine service, exercise on the heathens (Ps. lxxii., lxxviii. 29, xxii. 28, and others). While the prophecies of the Pentateuch refer only to the people, the Psalms add the image, distinctly delineated, of the King, the Messiah, the Priest-King (cx. 4). With this double inheritance of Moses and David, prophecy commences her course. It retarded and obstructed considerably the understanding of prophecy, that the older orthodox exegesis beheld exclusively the person of Christ in the Psalms, and did not know to find out the reference to the people and kingdom of God, whereas the Messiah Himself leads us to the correct interpretation, by the fundamental word of His preaching, “the kingdom of God.”

Whatever is said in the Psalms and prophets of the kingdom of Israel, is found, by a tortuous, and falsely called spiritual spiritualising interpretation, to refer to the Church, an interpretation which can only be effected by the most violent process of inanition, and modification, of the sacred words. Such exegesis always leaves the impression on the reader, that the prophets ought, after all, to have used quite different expressions, if they really intended to prophesy about Jesus and His Church. They speak always of a victorious King and a kingdom of glory, instead of Christ's suffering and death, atonement, and reconciliation of the world through His blood. Hence it was that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, taken from its connection with the rest of the book, became the favourite passage of Old Testament exegesis, to which were added, perhaps, some parts of Zechariah and the ninth of Daniel; as also the Christmas texts (Isa. vii. 14, and ix. 6), without a deep insight, however, into the difficult context. Thus a living organic understanding of prophecy was wanting, and even in our days is still wanting, to a great extent. This deficiency avenged itself in an awful manner. Rationalistic exegesis lays great stress on the letter of prophecy, and with apparent right, against that false spiritual interpretation. It shows that the prophets prophesied concerning an Israelitish kingdom, and draws from this the inference, that the prophets were mistaken, because, of course, they and the orthodox are perfectly at one, that such a kingdom can no longer be expected. The doctrine of the future glorious restoration of Israel, is such an essential and fundamental idea of all prophecy, that the difficulty is not so much to find passages in which it is taught, as to select from the great number. We point out as specimens, Isa. ii. 2-4, iv. 2-6, ix. 1-6; chapters xi. and xii.; specially xi. 11, xxiv. 6, lx. 4; Jer. xxx.-xxxiii.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23-31, chaps. xxxvi. and xxxvii.; Hos. ii. 16-25, iii. 4, 5, xi. 8-11, xiv. 2; Joel iii. 1-3, iv. 16-21; Amos ix. 11-15; Ob. 17-21; Micah ii. 12, 13, chaps. iv., v., vii. 11-20; Zeph. iii. 14-20; Zech. ii. 4, viii. 7, ix. 9, x. 8-12, xii. 2-

xiii. 6, xiv. 8, etc. Zechariah also, who lived after the exile, knows of a gathering and glorification of his nation, which shall greatly differ from and excel the restoration which he witnessed. We made the observation in a previous part of our investigation, that this prophet, who consummates and condenses all preceding prophecy, distinguishes more distinctly than any other Old Testament prophet, the first and the second advent of Christ, His rejection, and His future reception by the Jewish nation. For this reason He represents the conversion of the people, which is the condition of its re-establishment, distinctly as repentance on account of the rejection and putting to death of the Messiah. "And I will pour upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and of supplication, and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for Him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for Him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born. And the land shall mourn, every family apart, the house of David, Nathan, Levi, Shimei, etc. In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness; and it shall come to pass, saith the Lord of hosts, that I will cut off the names of idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered; and also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land" (Zech. xii. 10-xiii. 2).

We have seen, in our previous remarks, that the afflictions of the last times shall prepare such a thorough change of heart in the people of Israel. We have here a prophetic description of this change; and herewith is connected the prophecy given by our Lord Jesus himself, that the citizens of Jerusalem will say, when they see Him again, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord (Matt. xxiii. 39).

The more minute descriptions which the prophets give in the passages quoted before, of the prosperity and glory of the "Messianic time," correspond and harmonise beautifully with the results to which our investigations of the New Testament statements led

us. Israel brought back to its own land, will now be the people of God in a much higher and more internal sense than it was before, for now the power of sin is checked, the knowledge of God fills the whole land, and the Lord dwells again among His people at Jerusalem. Thus, a new time of divine revelation will begin, the Spirit of God will be poured out abundantly, and a fulness of the gifts of grace (*charismata*) be bestowed,—even as the apostolic church possessed it typically. This rich full spirit-life creates, likewise, its external manifestation in a priestly and in a kingly manner. The priestly character of Israel was beheld especially by the son of a priest—Ezekiel, in the mysterious vision, the subject of chaps. xl.-xlviii.; the kingly character was revealed to the statesman Daniel; both united, were seen, for example, by Jeremiah xxxiii. 17-22. What appeared during the Old Testament Theocracy only in an external form in the letter, what had altogether disappeared in the New Testament period, the time of internal hidden spirit-life, is now represented also externally, and united to an outward form, but in a pneumatic manner. In the Old Testament, the whole Jewish national life, in its various manifestations, home, government, labour, art, literature, civilisation was religious, but only in an external legal manner; the Church, again, has to insist chiefly on a renewal of heart, and must leave the outward manifestations of life free, pressing it upon the conscience of the individual to glorify Christ in all relations; but, in the millennial kingdom, all spheres of life will be truly Christianised from within outwardly. From this point of view, it will not be offensive to say, that the Mosaic ceremonial law corresponds to the priestly office of Israel, the civil law to its kingly office. The Gentile Church could only adopt the moral law. In like manner, her sole influence is by the word, working inwardly, by exercising the prophetic office. But when the royal and the priestly office shall be revived, then—the principles of the epistle to the Hebrews, remaining as true and immovable as ever—also the ceremonial and civil law of Moses, will de-

velop its spiritual depths in the divine worship, and in the constitution of the millennial kingdom. Only from this point of view can we appreciate aright the saying of Christ (Matt. v. 17-19), which otherwise always contain a something not sufficiently accounted for.¹ At present is the time of preaching, but then the time of the *Liturgy* shall have come, which presupposes a congregation of converted souls; our church governments and institutions are at present fragmentary and defective, and must always be so; but then the true forms will arise in great strength and beauty. And, with this sacred and glorious character of divine service, shall be combined a corresponding government of the world, a fulness of blessings and undisturbed vital joy. When Israel glorifies God, and is again glorified by its God, a deep and powerful impression cannot fail to be made upon the Gentiles. Now, it is no longer necessary to go after and seek the Gentiles laboriously; on the contrary, they come willingly, of themselves, attracted by the rich gifts of God's mercy, and the fulness of divine manifestation which they behold. It is their delight now to serve this God, and to offer to Him their noblest and best offerings.

Thus, while during the Old Testament times the Jews exclusively, and during the Church-historical period, the Gentiles exclusively enjoyed the blessings of the salvation of revelation, while in both cases humanity was divided and separated; now, in the millennium, Jews and Gentiles are united, and all humanity, the whole organism united under the first-born brother, walks in the light of God, and thus the true and full life of humanity is at last realised (comp. Rom. xi. 30-32). Then all abominations which have defiled, openly or secretly, the life of nations, up to the second advent of Christ, naturally cease; war, especially, that scourge with which men chastise

¹ "Heaven and earth are not to pass till all types and promises of the kingdom of God be fulfilled. This precious word of promise of our Lord is a pledge, that the expectations of all these great things shall surely be realised to the joy of all the righteous."—C. H. Zeller, loc. cit., March 1854, p. 21.

from the kingdom to the Church, the times of which are now to commence ; for the Holy Spirit and His internal effects are opposed to the outward glory, as the prophetic office of witnessing to the kingship (*βασιλεία*), concerning which the disciples ask Him. Therefore, the answer of Christ amounts to this: First comes the Church; after that the kingdom. But that the latter shall surely come, has to be expressly confirmed by the mouth of the angels who testify after the Lord's ascension: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner (*οὕτως ὡς τρόπον*), as ye have seen Him go into heaven" (ver. 11).

Moreover, the Lord Jesus himself prophesied (Matt. xxiv. 34), that Israel was to be preserved during the entire Church-historical period, during which the gospel of Christ is spread, even unto the uttermost ends of the earth (Acts i. 8), consequently also among the heathens. The Lord says: "this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." The expression, "this generation," which has caused so much discussion, means here not this present generation, but this unbelieving Jewish people. For it has not only been proved with much erudition by *Dorner*, in his "Dissertatio de oratione Christi eschatologica," that the expression *γενεα* may be also used of a people; but, even taking the word literally, let us remember that Christ often uses this expression "generation," with somewhat of an under-current of reproach (for example, Matt. xii. 45; Luke xvii. 25). It is impossible to think that the expression refers to the term of human life, for the saying occurs likewise in Luke, xxi. 32, where are mentioned shortly before the times of the Gentiles (ver. 24); and it is evident, were it only for the plural used, that these extend over more than one generation. The meaning of our passage is the following: The context shows us, that the Saviour was led to think of the Jewish nation by the fig tree, which He had often used as an illustration of the Jewish people, and wishing to adduce a proof of the eternal validity of His words (ver. 35), He prophesies the continued

existence of this unbelieving generation ; its preservation, notwithstanding its dispersion among the heathens, even throughout the whole times of the Gentiles (Luke xxi. 24). As little as Israel can pass away (*παρελθεῖν* in both cases), so little can His words : Israel's continued existence is a living proof of the truth of prophecy—a tangible pledge of its future fulfilment.

In conclusion, we have to consider a promise which the Lord repeatedly gave to His disciples, viz. : that in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, they shall rule the twelve tribes of Israel as a reward of their having followed Him with self-sacrificing faithfulness (Matt. xix. 28 ; Luke xxii. 28-30). The reason why we consider this passage next, is because it seemed to us most adapted to represent, in a consummating and compendious manner, the connection subsisting between Old and New Testament statements concerning the millennium.

The twelve apostles belong, of course, to the transfigured church, whereas the twelve tribes are still upon earth ; and thus we have a clear indication that the kingdom on earth is connected with, and dependent on, the kingdom above earth. Twelve, the product of the divine number three, and the world number four, is the symbolic number of the Church, and as such occurs in the Old Covenant in the twelve tribes ; in the New, in the twelve apostles. There is thus a correspondence between tribes and apostles, and this, their signification, extends even into the New Jerusalem, of which we read, that the names of the twelve apostles are written on her foundations, and the names of the twelve tribes on her gates. In connection with this are to be understood the twice twelve elders before the throne of the Lamb, and the twelve times twelve thousand sealed ones of Israel. They form the nucleus of transfigured humanity to which the Gentiles are joined. Thus, during the millennium, an innumerable multitude of all nations are added to the hundred and forty-four thousand sealed ones from the twelve tribes of Israel, in heaven ; and upon earth, the world of nations is added to the kingdom of Israel. Whereas the twelve apostles stand at

the head of the whole. The upper and the lower congregation, although separate during the millennium, are yet connected with each other ; and it is to this that the Lord refers in the promise which He gives to His disciples. After the millennial kingdom—after the universal judgment, when heaven and earth are renewed, and the New Jerusalem descends from heaven, then all limitations shall disappear and cease.

To this time the Apocalypse looks, in the twenty-first and twenty-second chapters. The eye of the Old Testament prophet does not reach into such distant times ; at least, the prophets do not distinguish, as St John, the millennial kingdom from the times of consummation, after the final judgment. It is true, that Isaiah likewise speaks of a new heaven and a new earth (lxv. 17 ; lxvi. 22), but the context plainly shows that he understood by it the state of the millennium, into which only a few rays of light fall from the still more remote times of perfection. The same applies to the eternal kingdom of the Son of Man, and of the saints of the Most High, which Daniel beheld. For this reason, it does not come strictly within our task to view more minutely these visions of the New Testament Apocalyptic, and to investigate John's statements concerning the final perfect renewal of the world, which is likewise preceded by apostasy and judgment (Rev. xx. 7-15). We shall only offer some general points of view, which may form a fit conclusion of, and throw additional light on, our previous remarks.

Not even the millennial kingdom is the final end of the development of God's kingdom. For even during the millennium, there is a separation between heaven and earth—between humanity transfigured and humanity still living in the flesh. Hence it is possible that an apostasy should take place at the end of the millennium. The kingdom is more glorious than the church, but it is not yet the new world. It is a time of refreshing after the time of warfare, but not yet the time of perfection, in the strict sense of the word. A more general and extended view may render this more distinct.

Nature, history, and revelation, are the three great kingdoms of divine manifestation. The highest includes the two lower. For revelation, condescending to man like to a child, makes use of the visible world which surrounds him ; but here again we must distinguish three gradations. God used nature as a vehicle of revelation, during the most ancient times : and, first, the nature of paradise ; secondly, nature laden with the curse of sin ; and, thirdly, nature suffering destruction by the deluge. Man's moral probation is connected with the fruit of a tree ; his redemption appears as the bruising of the serpent ; the punishment of sin is joined to the two processes, which are the conditions of man's physical existence—the bringing forth of children on the part of the woman, and the earning of bread on the part of man : as the symbol of divine mercy the rainbow is given. But man, instead of being led by visible nature to the invisible God, deified nature, and thus fell into heathenism ; and, therefore, God commenced with Abraham a new and higher series of revelations, and, as their vehicle, He chose history. The primal revelation was given to all men, as nature is common to all ; but, in history, humanity separates into different nations ; every nation has its own history. God chose one nation—the Jewish—and takes into His hand their whole origin and development ; and thus the history of Israel forms the second period of revelation. The fundamental elements of historical life are, therefore, essentially religious : the state is a Theocracy ; art consists in religious service ; literature in holy Scripture. There is thus an external sanctification and discipline of life, but not yet a real inward pneumatic regeneration from on high. Such a renewal can only be effected by the third stage, which we may designate as the revelation of revelation, in which God frees His revelation from the vehicles of nature and history—from everything external—and Himself enters, without other mediation, into the life of humanity, in the person of the God-man Jesus Christ. He transplants, in an essential, real manner, the life of God into the world, and He, therefore, is the consum-

mation of revelation. The great object now is, the communication of divine life from Christ, and, through Him, to the whole world, until God be all in all. This object is likewise attained successively in three periods, corresponding—in inverted order, however—to the periods of revelation just mentioned. The life of the God-man himself bears outwardly a quiet and humble character, widely differing in this respect from the thunder of the Israelitish history, or, still more, from the gigantic natural events of the primeval period; and as the life of the God-man, so likewise the first period of the extension of divine life is one of inward, spiritual, hidden humility, during the church-historical time, in which nature and history pursue essentially their wonted, unspiritual course. After this period, the life of Christ becomes manifest and visible (Col./iii. 3, 4); it penetrates powerfully the whole world of history in all its fundamental elements, state, art, civilisation, etc. This is the millennial kingdom; and, finally, this life becomes also the power which transfigures nature—which transfigures the world universally—in the time of the new heaven and the new earth. Thus we see here again, that the millennial kingdom corresponds to the period of the Israelitish revelation, and that, in the future kingdom, there shall be realized, in an organic, universal, free way, what was realized in the Old Covenant outwardly, and according to the letter. Hence it is clear, why Israel is chosen to be at the head of humanity during that period, and why the prophets of the Old Covenant saw principally the future of the nation, and, for the most part, passed over the church-historical period. They are prophets of Israel; and the church-historical time appears, from the Jewish point of view, only as the time of its dispersion among the Gentiles.

All our previous remarks serve, we trust, to throw light on the second and seventh chapters of Daniel, and to explain them in their different bearings.

IV. THE MODERN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

We have thus solved our task, in its positive aspect, as the exposition and exegesis of Rev. xii.-xx., showed more clearly and completely the relation in which the Old and New Testament Apocalypses stand to each other. But, as the view of the second and most important part of the Revelations of St John, given in the preceding pages, is partly new, it remains for us to justify it, by a comparison with, and criticism of, the other views, which are of importance, and refer more immediately to our subject. We think that, in so doing, we render to the reader a not unwelcome service; for there is scarcely a book of Scripture, of which the different interpretations intersect each other in so labyrinthine a manner, and where it is so difficult to gain even a historical survey of the various expositions. Modern science has not simplified things; for the increased study which has been devoted to the Apocalypse, has rather multiplied than diminished the contradiction and confusion of opinions, so that a clear historical survey is the more necessary, and a classification of the different views, of course, the first desideratum.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse may be reduced to three grand groups. First, the church-historical view regards the Revelations as a prophetic compendium of church history, and supposes that the exalted Saviour has revealed therein the chief events of all centuries of the Christian era, in detail, and with chronological accuracy. *Bengel* is still the most important representative of this view in Germany. His apocalyptic system, though the event has already proved it erroneous in some points of primary importance, has yet, as far as its essence is concerned, many adherents among believers of our time. Besides, the British and French divines have a great predilection for this mode of interpretation. We shall endeavour to give a characteristic of their mode of treating the Apocalypse, in our remarks on two of their most distinguished works in modern times, the "*Horæ*

Apocalypticæ" of the English divine *Elliot*, which were published in 1851 in London, fourth edition, four large volumes;¹ and, secondly, the work of the Genevan divine, *Gaussen*, which we have quoted frequently, "*Daniel le Prophète*," of which hitherto three volumes have been published (2d edition, 1850). *Gaussen* gives a full exposition of the parallel passages in *Daniel*. The English and French theologians have latterly devoted much attention to the theological, and especially the Apocalyptic literature of Germany: we enter, therefore, willingly into an examination of theirs.

The second view is peculiar to those circles of modern German theology who deny the genuineness of *Daniel*. They start with a conception of prophecy, which excludes a real beholding of the future, revealed by God. Hence, they limit the view of *John*, as well as that of *Daniel*, to his contemporary history; what *Antiochus Epiphanes* is, according to their interpretation, in the book of *Daniel*, *Nero* is in the New Testament Apocalypse. This exegetical view is generally accompanied by the critical view, that the gospel of *John* and the Apocalypse cannot be of the same author. Some, *Ewald*, *De Wette*, *Lücke*, and others, attribute the gospel, others again, *Baur* and his school, the Apocalypse, to the apostle.

A second species of this view (that of contemporary history) has been recently attempted, after the precedent of *Herder* and others, by *Züllig*. He excludes all reference to Rome and heathenism, and tries to refer everything to Jerusalem and Judaism. This view has found so few adherents, that we need not devote to it a minute consideration.

The chief representatives of this second class of interpreters are *EWALD*, who first developed it in his *Commentarius Apocal. Criticus et Exegeticus*, 1828; *De Wette*, in his short exposition of the Revelations, 1848; and *Lücke*, in his "*Versuch einer*

¹ *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, or a Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical, including also an Examination of the Chief Prophecies of *Daniel*.

vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis. 2d edit. 1852." Baur's school has not produced a monograph on the Apocalypse, but only detached essays and occasional remarks.

The third view is the one to which we adhere. The fundamental principles of this interpretation is the same as that of the first class (the church-historical view), and opposed to the second. It starts from a belief in real predictions. It does not even deny the possibility of prophecies so minute and special, as the interpreters belonging to the first class find in the Apocalypse; for that the second part of Daniel contains such circumstantial predictions, and hence, that such predictions are possible, the fulfilment has proved. But we deny, that the New Testament Apocalypse, as it lies before us, *de facto*, is or was intended to be a detailed history of the future. If this had been intended, the Revelations would have been given in the same manner as the eleventh chapter of Daniel, where there is indeed a minute history of the future. But we know that the seventh chapter of Daniel, and its symbolism of beasts and man, forms the substratum of the Apocalypse, and even the numbers occurring in the New Testament Revelations chiefly refer to the fundamental number of three and a half, given in Daniel vii. 25. The book does not intend to be a detailed description of church-history, but its object is to represent the great epochs and leading principal powers in the development of the kingdom of God viewed in its relation to the world-kingdoms. As *J. T. Beck* says: "The Apocalypse describes essential peculiar principles, and we must endeavour to apprehend these independently of the question, 'To what external historical phenomenon (Church, State, event, individual) does this apply?'" We have pointed out above, why the Old Testament congregation stood in need of more special prophecies than the New Testament Church.

This view of the Apocalypse (according to which the book refers to the history of the kingdom of God) is the original view

held in the Church. It was first reintroduced in a scientific shape by Hofmann, who referred the interpretation of the Apocalypse to the fundamental passage in Daniel, and thus opened a new path for the exposition of the beast. We refer to the second part of his "*Weisagung u. Erfüllung*," 1844, p. 300. It was Hofmann also, who asserted again the importance of the doctrine of the millennial kingdom, for which *Bengel* had lifted so powerful a testimony. The two most recent commentaries on the Revelations, that of *Hengstenberg* (2 vols., 1849-1851), and *Ebrard* (1853), pursue the principle laid down by Hofmann. The former falls partly into pre-Bengelian views, the latter adopts French and English ideas.

I. THE CHURCH-HISTORICAL VIEW.

Luther has strikingly expressed the characteristic peculiarity of the church-historical view in the following words:—

"Since the book is to be a revelation of future events, and specially of great tribulations and distress of Christendom, we think that the simplest and surest way of finding the interpretation would be to put together, from the annals of history, the past history and troubles of Christendom, and to put them beside the symbols of the Revelations, and compare them with the words. Then, wherever it would nicely fit and coincide, there we might depend on obtaining a sure and inconvertible interpretation."

This principle of interpretation appears at first sight very correct and natural, and yet it is erroneous. It goes against a fundamental principle, on which the Protestant Church justly lays great stress, viz., that Scripture interprets itself. This general principle is applicable also to our book. Though, as a prophetic book, it points to the future, yet it directs us first to its past, in order to obtain the key to its interpretation. Herein lies the great importance and significance of its

thoroughly Old Testament language and mode of representation. By this circumstance itself the reader is directed to the ancient Scriptures, and called upon to seek, in the more ancient prophets of God, the interpretation of the obscure and enigmatic images of the Apocalypse. If we do this, everything gains in a simple manner light, order, system, connection; you are altogether relieved from arbitrary guessing, because everywhere you perceive that a plan and a law are followed out. Thus whole series' of interpretations can be put aside, by looking to the principle and idea of the book. For example, it is clear from Daniel, that the beast cannot possibly represent a spiritual power, as it is evident on the other hand, that the Babylonian harlot cannot mean simply a city, but symbolizes a spiritual power. If we neglect to look out for the biblical definition of fundamental ideas and fundamental symbols, it throws the gates open to arbitrariness of every kind. And hence, there are innumerable systems of church-historical interpretations; and as ecclesiastical and worldly events progress, many more may be and will be advanced. The fundamental error committed by this school is, that interpretation and fulfilment are confused, and that the former is made to depend on the latter. But this renders the word of God dependent upon human history, while it is perfect in itself, and while its object is to be itself a lamp in the darkness of the world-times to them who seek enlightenment from on high, that they may behold the light which Scripture bears. The Revelation is to teach us to understand the times, not the times to interpret to us the Apocalypse—although it is in the nature of the case, that there is a reflex influence exerted here, and understood by those that are prudent. In this manner the book is much more earnest and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, than it would be, if it contained predictions of individual events.

This mode of interpreting the Apocalypse had become the prevalent one before the reformation; and this in proportion as the Church departed from the original exposition which the primitive

church had given to the book, and as commentators lost the original apostolic Chiliasm. In the course of the church-historical era, the temptation became always greater to look on the Apocalypse as a prophecy of church-history, and to use especially the apocalyptic numbers for chronological calculation ; and when a thousand years of the Christian era had nearly elapsed, then it was imagined that the millennium was being fulfilled in the church-historical period. Christendom and the Church was then so great a power in the world, and a clear spiritual insight into biblical prophecy had become so rare, that we need not be astonished to find that even Augustine imagined the millennium had commenced in his day. The thousand years were reckoned by some, as beginning with the birth of Christ, and, for this reason, all Christendom expected the coming of the last day in the eleventh century ; whereas, others commenced its calculation with the time of Constantine, afterwards, also, of Charlemagne, as is done in modern times by *Hengstenberg*. They confused times and periods in the most extraordinary way, as Luther's own view shows (comp. *Bengel*, erklärte Offenb. Joh. (Stuttgart 1834), p. 669). Luther thought the thousand years began with the birth of Christ and reached down to Gregory VII; the seven-headed beast he referred to the papacy founded by Hildebrand, and interpreted the number 666 to indicate its duration. This view gained a twofold importance in the Protestant church. For, in the first place, it was thought orthodox not to expect a millennial kingdom in the future, but to believe that it belonged to the past, chiefly on account of the celebrated seventeenth article of the Augsburg Confession, where, as *Bengel* says, p. 672, a right and good protest is lifted up against the Anabaptist, premature, raving, Chiliasm. In the second place (to use *Lücke's* words, loc. cit., p. 1015), "it belonged to the churchly character of Protestant exegesis to view the Apocalypse as a prophetic compendium of church-history, and the reference of antichristianity, prophesied by John, to papal Rome, was looked upon as an axiom."

I. BENGEL.

Bengel followed, in the last respect, the general Protestant interpretation; but, as regards the first point, he became a successful champion for the primitive Christian Chiliasm. It is only in this respect that his interpretation is original and important; as far as history and chronology are concerned, he is only a consistent representative of the view current before and in his time. A great number of church-historical interpretations, and apocalyptic chronologies, which were always connected in some way, existed before his time. There was a tendency in his age, as appears, for example, from the writings of the English commentator, *Whiston*, who died likewise in 1752, to draw up chronological calculations. *Whiston* calculated that the second coming of Christ would take place in the year 1715; afterwards, he fixed upon the year 1766 (*Lücke*, p. 1036). We may trace a connection between this chronological tendency and the general taste for history which awoke at that time, and which is mirrored forth in the attention devoted to the Apocalypse. *Bengel* himself was struck by this characteristic of his time, and says, on one occasion, "Old people like *Personalia*; thus the world is growing old, and likes to hear of its history; for this reason history is so much studied" (*Burk*, *Bengel's Leben und Werke*, p. 297). The only new feature in *Bengel's* Commentary was his definite chronological system, as he himself says, "I have nothing new except the definite durations of prophetic times," p. 676.

But he attaches uncommonly strong weight to this chronological system, and it is intimately connected with his whole mode of conception, and became to him the real clue to his understanding of the Apocalypse. We must, for this reason, enter into a more minute examination of it. We find it developed in his *Ordo Temporum*, 1741, in his introduction to his Commentary on the Apocalypse; and *Burk* (*loc. cit.*) gives good extracts from both works, and also from his later polemical writings.

Bengel supposes the entire duration of the world from the creation to the final judgment, according to a frequently-recurring analogy of Scripture, to consist of the number seven, viz., 7777 years (or, more accurately, $7777\frac{1}{2}$ years). The millennium begins, consequently, with the year 1836, at which date he arrives first by calculating backwards from the end. For he puts the commencement of our Dionysian era in the year 3948 after the creation of the world, supposing the birth of Christ to have taken place three years before this date. Now, if this number, or rather, as we have not 3948 years fully, the number 3942 is subtracted from 7777, or, more accurately, 7778, we have, as the sum total of the New Testament time, 3836 years. Subtract the two last millennia, and you get, as the date of the commencement of the millennial kingdom, 1836. *Bengel* supposes that the thousand years during which Satan is bound, Rev. xx. 1-3, precede the thousand years during which the saints reign, ver. 4-6, so that, according to him, the millennial kingdom embraces two thousand years, and the short time that Satan is loosed again (ver. 3, 7-10) falls into the beginning of the second millennium. His chief argument for this assertion is, that in some important manuscripts the article is wanting before $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha$ $\tau\eta\eta$, from which he draws the inference, that the millennium mentioned in the second and third verses, is not here referred to.

Let us pause here, and examine this portion of his system. We miss the necessary biblical foundation for these fundamental positions of *Bengel*. He himself says, "Should the year 1836 pass without bringing remarkable changes, then there must be some great error in my system," Burk, p. 300. The result has proved the existence of the error; but we must trace its existence in the principle of his interpretation. We can understand why the disciples of *Bengel* thought his system inspired, for there is so little sure foundation for it in the Apocalypse, and in Scripture, in general, that believing the system to be correct, it is almost necessary to attribute it to a new revelation. To begin at the beginning, the supposition upon which the whole is based,

that the world is to stand 7777 years, is only a beautiful and thoughtful imagination. The extension of the millennial kingdom to a period of two thousand years, is obviously opposed to the simple and natural meaning of the text. The absence of the article in ver. 4 is not quite certain, and we cannot rely on it ; but, besides, it is also wanting in ver. 6. And it is very forced and impossible to refer the thousand years of ver. 7 (excluding the thousand years mentioned in ver. 4-6) to those of ver. 3. The whole context shows, on the contrary, and especially the clear reference in ver. 1 to ver. 3, since the $\chi\lambda\iota\alpha \xi\eta\eta$ occur likewise, ver. 4-6, that all the six times the same thousand years are spoken of. One can hardly help thinking that Bengel was chiefly induced to adopt this supposition of two thousand years in order to preserve the harmony of his system ; for if the beginning of the millennium falls into the year 2836, it would disturb all his other views.

But he arrives at the date 1836 by a second calculation. He starts from the number of the beast 666, which he interprets to mean common years, and to denote the duration of the power of the beast, *i.e.* the Hildebrandian papacy. He rejoices that he can agree here with *Luther*. The duration of the power of the beast is, according to xiii. 5, forty-two months, and Bengel makes use of the identity of the two chronological intimations for the calculation of a prophetic month, which is, consequently, equal to $15\frac{1}{2}$ (common) years. Hence a prophetic day is about half a year, and it is easy to calculate from this the duration of prophetic hours and years. A second series of chronological intimations, *viz.*, the three intimations, $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}s$, $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\acute{\omega}\nu$, time, period, and eternity (which he likewise views chronologically), is obtained by Bengel from a comparison of the number 666 with the number 1000, occurring in Rev. xx. These two numbers are related to each other (roughly) as 2 to 3 ; it is easy to obtain the more accurate equation :

$$3 : 2 = 999\frac{2}{3} : 666\frac{2}{3}$$

according to this, a millennium may be divided instead of ten

into nine centuries, each of which is equal to $111\frac{1}{3}$ common years. This, Bengel says, is half a time; the whole *καιρος* is therefore $222\frac{2}{3}$ years, a period (*χρονος*) $1111\frac{1}{3}$ years, an *αιων* *aevum* $2222\frac{2}{3}$ years. Annexed to *καιρος* is a short time *ολιγος καιρος*, xii. 12, which is to last $888\frac{8}{9}$ years; annexed to the period is the no-period, non-chronus, ver. 6, which is to be less than $1111\frac{1}{3}$, viz, 1036 years.

It is clear, that these chronological dates are likewise only suppositions, and do not rest on sufficient arguments derived from the text. We shall only mention a few cardinal points. The whole proceeds from the supposition, that the number of the beast, 666, is a chronological number, and signifies common years; but this supposition is not justified and proved by exegesis, nor can this be done. This of itself overthrows the two series' of chronological intimations, the one of which is obtained by a combination with the forty-two months, and the other by a combination with the thousand years. The latter series, moreover, contains three arbitrary assumptions. Bengel adds two-thirds to 666; secondly, he takes the general ideas, time, period, and aeon, in a chronological sense; and, thirdly, he fixes that chronology in an arbitrary manner. In Rev. vi. 11, it is said unto the martyrs, who cry for vengeance, that they should rest yet for a little season (*χρονον*)—but why is this to mean, that they are here referred to a period of $1111\frac{1}{3}$ years, that is, from 98–1209 A.D.; in which period their number was increased by the persecutions of the Waldenses? In Rev. x. 6, the angel swears that there should be no time, that is, no further delay of the completion of the mysteries of God; but in what relation does this stand to a non-chronus of 1036 years (800–1836, A.D.)? And when (Rev. xii. 12) it is said of the devil, “he knoweth that he hath but a short time, ‘*ολιγον καιρον*,’” who would think here of a time of $888\frac{8}{9}$ years (947–1836 B.C.); especially as the *short* time would be four times as long as the time itself (*καιρος*)? And, lastly, who would interpret the expression (xiv. 6) the everlasting gospel (*αιωνων*), to mean an aeon

of 2222 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, which are to last from *Arndt*,¹ whom Bengel supposes to be meant by the angel flying in the midst of heaven to the last day (1614–3836) ?

With such an exegesis, it is no wonder that one can arrive at the year 1836 or 3836 by a great variety of ways.

It is very remarkable, that the fundamental number of Revelations is explained by Bengel in so many different ways. The intimations, three times and a half time, forty-two months ; twelve hundred and sixty days, which occur five times in chapters xi.–xiii., are evidently and unmistakeably indetical. *Bengel* explains the forty-two months in chap. xi. 2, and the 1260 days (ver. 3) to be chronological dates in the ordinary sense of the word, and refers them to the last Antichristian period, the years between 1830 and 1836. Whereas, the intimations given concerning the woman and the beast (xii. 6–14 ; xiii. 5), are interpreted by him according to his prophetic chronology. The forty-two months of the beast signify, consequently, six hundred and six years, during which it is said the papacy of Hildebrand lasted, viz. from 1073–1740, or rather from Coelestius II., the first pope who was appointed without the consent of the people, 1163–1809. And, moreover, the 1260 days of the flight of the woman into the wilderness are not quite identical with this, but last 677 years, from the completion of the preparations for the introduction of Christianity into Bohemia, to the persecution of believers in that country, 940–1617. From this flight of the woman he distinguishes again the flight with eagle wings (Rev. xii. 14) ; and its duration, the three times and a half, are calculated according to a different principle, viz. by a comparison of 666 with 1000. Accordingly, the three times and a half are equal to 777 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, during which the church nourishes herself in the northern countries of Europe, 1050–1836. We are struck, at a first glance, by the strange circumstance, that the Reformation is, in this calculation, obscured by less important events.

¹ Joh. Arndt, author of "das wahre Christenthum."—Tr.

We have touched on some important points of Bengel's historical views in our remarks on his chronological suppositions; we can, therefore, be more brief in our criticism of the former.

Bengel had not yet attained to a correct insight into the structure of the Apocalypse, for, instead of seeing in that book a series of parallel groups, he regards it as a historical picture, in which events are represented in their chronological succession. He supposes the sequence to be interrupted by the eleventh chapter, which he takes out of its place and puts it at the end of the book. In the twelfth chapter, according to this view, the history has progressed to the ninth century. This portion of his exposition bears more directly on our task.

The woman, according to Bengel, is the congregation of God and of Christ. Her being with child is an indication, that under Charlemagne, it began to be probable that all nations should become her heritage. The male son is a symbol of Christ, viewed in his royal capacity, ruling over the nations; but this rule is as yet invisible, and hence it is said He is caught up to God's throne. The flight into the wilderness refers to the passing of Christianity from Asia into Europe, especially the northern part of it, there Ansgarius, Cyrillus, Methodius, prepared its spread during the ninth and tenth centuries, so that, in 940, Boleslaus of Bohemia, in consequence of the order of Otto the Great, caused his princes to be educated in the Christian religion. Soon after this, 947, the devil is cast out of heaven, where, up to that time, he had accused the Christians, because they had enjoyed rest after the persecutions of the heathen emperors and Arian kings, but especially after the second Saracenic plague, which ended 847. Satan begins now (ver. 13) his persecutions in Prussia, Hungary, etc. The floods of water, which he casts out of his mouth after the woman, is the Turkish power, which is, however, curbed in Asia ("the earth") by the crusades.

The beast represents the papacy on the summit of its worldly power, which it attained under Gregory VII. Its seven heads

are a long successive series of popes. The deadly wound is the struggle between empire and papacy; the healing of the wound refers to the revival of the papacy, which manifests itself in councils, crusades, etc. The false prophet, or the second beast, came at the end of the 666 years. It may be either Jesuitism or Freemasonry, as in the last days the Papacy and Socinianism are to go hand in hand. The seventh head of the first beast is Antichrist, who, as such, is at the same time, the eighth head; Antichrist is an individual, or person, and by him the papacy adds to its former blasphemous and Antichristian power new malice drawn from the abyss, the bottomless pit, and thus attains again importance after its temporary decay. The harlot is meant to represent the city of Rome, which, headed by its patricians, endeavours to curb the power of the papacy, but it is for this reason destroyed by Antichrist and the ten worldly kings who are subject to him (the ten horns). After these events Antichrist and his false prophet are judged (the false prophet likewise shall be in the last day an individual person) and then commences the millennial kingdom.

The chief points from which we may form an estimate of this interpretation, are easily selected. The exposition of the twelfth chapter is the most startling part of the whole. How is it possible to refer the birth of Christ and the casting out of the devil, to such unimportant events? With regard to the beast, we saw previously, that according to the symbolic language of the prophetic, and more especially of the apocalyptic books, it cannot be referred to any thing else except the political worldly power. But supposing it represents the papacy, would it not be strange, that the existence of the papacy before the time of Gregory VII., when many ungodly and Antichristian elements had already penetrated the Church, should be altogether passed over in silence? But besides this, this interpretation falls with the chronology connected with it. *Bengel* is, moreover, incapable of giving a satisfactory exposition of the seven heads, and the statements connected therewith. If the Babylonian harlot

means the city of Rome, it is difficult to understand why such extraordinary importance is attached to her destruction in the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of Revelation, not to mention other difficulties. *Roos* has slightly improved, in this respect, the system of *Bengel*, by referring the harlot to the Roman Church.¹

From all these remarks, it is clear, that *Bengel's* interpretation, with its chronological historical details, is untenable. Notwithstanding this, we may learn, from the history of this holy and devout student of Scripture, that even individual errors and mistakes are not allowed to do essential harm, when proceeding from a man, whose fundamental views are sound, and in accordance with God's word; whereas when this foundation is wanting, even many a truth, understood and advanced, is of no avail, but rather serves to render error more powerful and seductive. Even *Bengel's* mistakes were overruled by God to serve them who loved Him. The "Chronology" contributed, in an extraordinary manner, to turn the attention of believers to the long-neglected word of prophecy, and directed them to view contemporary events in the light of the prophetic word. And besides, how many truths were clearly distinguished by this great man. It is well known, that he cast many prophetic glances into the future; and *Burk* has collected (p. 295) a wonderful series of his "apocalyptic presentiments and inferences." The period in which he expected great decisive phenomena, is indeed important, on account of its many spiritual and external developments; and it is a sacred duty of the Church of Christ, living in this period, to take heed to "the signs of the times."

The chief importance, however, of *Bengel's* system, consists

¹ We rejoice that our fundamental view of the two beasts and the harlot are in essential agreement with that of an aged servant of Christ in our days. Zeller in *Beuggen*. Comp. *Monatsblatt*, 1839, N. 12, "The Mystery of Babylon," and 1845, N. 5, "Antichristianity in the Last Times." The *Monatsblatt* contains many excellent eschatological treatises.

in this, that he brought to light again a truth of Scripture, which had been misapprehended for nearly fifteen centuries, viz., the doctrine of the millennial kingdom. Bengel himself, in his "History of Interpretations," which he has added to his Commentary of the Revelations, represents as the chief excellence of his apocalyptic system, that, availing himself of the labours of Vitringa, he had "restored again the old, true order, Antichrist, millennium, end of the world" (p. 661-675). On another occasion he expresses his opinion, that the time will come, when a pure Chiliasm will be thought an integral part of orthodoxy; and *Öttinger* considers it the chief task, which was allotted to Bengel, "to make Chiliasm orthodox," as he expresses it; for it is only by this doctrine, he says, that religion attains its perfection, fulness, and beauty. In this way Bengel laid the foundation for a dogmatic development of eschatology, which was such a great desideratum; but he has done more than this; he has opened up a new way for the historical view of the plan of the divine kingdom, as a whole, and hence for the interpretation of all prophetic books. This is the great spiritual blessing, which has accrued from his grandly conceived world-chronology; the shell may be faulty, but the kernel is sound and good. The world-chronology of *Bengel* is the mother of a fundamental idea of modern theology, the idea of an organic historical development of the kingdom of God. To work out this idea, especially in regard to the Old Testament, will require our diligence and energy for a long time yet. "If we see more clearly into the connection of the Old Testament," Delitzsch remarks, in his "Biblisch-Prophetische Theologie," p. 6, "it is in consequence of the light which Bengel's views on the Apocalypse have shed upon the Old Testament. To whom else do we owe it, that the orthodox Church of the present time does not brand the Chiliastic view of the last times as a heterodoxy, as is done in almost all old manuals of dogmatics; but, on the contrary, has allowed it to enter into her innermost life, so that there is scarcely a believing

Christian now, who does not take this view? To whom else do we owe it, that the Church of our days believes in a glorious future of the people of Israel, and recognises, consequently, in the Old Testament history of that nation, a prognostic of its final history—in the Old Testament prophecy, a foreseeing not only of the glory of the Gentile Church, but of Israel in the literal sense? To whom else do we owe it, that the Church recognises the truth, that spiritual salvation shall finally embody itself in outward visible reality, and that the Church is able to appreciate aright the reality of the visible character of Old Testament history, and to view the spiritual and the visible in its organic relation and mutual limitation? To none else but to Bengel. It was he who had to pour away the sediment of a theology, which, under the semblance of orthodoxy, opposed Chiliasm, even as to brand it a heresy, who had to overcome the last supporters of such a theology; and it was he who led the Brüdergemeinde (Moravian Brethren), who imagined that they themselves realised the glorious future of the Church, the so-called Philadelphian period, to more correct and Scriptural views. He it was who burst through the fetters of an exegetical tradition, which up to his time was thought to be almost infallible, who vindicated the rights of exegesis in relation to dogmatics, as the rights of a mother, and who pointed the Church to the Castalian fount, where she can renew her youth. The Church has not yet exhausted the writings of this theologian."

This last remark applies especially to one point. Bengel, in his Chiliasm, is a follower of Spener, whose hints he carried out in a satisfactory way; in general, we may view the school of Bengel as the theological point and complement of the spiritual movement, in which Spener had been instrumental. Bengel himself looks upon his predecessor as the second of the three angels mentioned (Rev. xiv. 6, etc.), and speaks of him in his history of interpretations in the following words:—"A wide door was opened by the beloved Spener, who brought again to light what he and others called "The Hope of Better Times,"

who avoided all details in the most prudent manner, as was fit in such a new beginning, but who defended the chief, important point, with great earnestness, steadfastness, and assurance, even to his death. From this time the truth on this subject forces its way with ever-increasing strength, and, notwithstanding many aberrations." In the case of Spener, the Chiliastic hope was intimately connected with his entire view of Church and Christianity, and this connection not merely theoretical, but also practical, of the *locus de ecclesia* and the *locus de novissimis*, is extremely important and instructive. We can see, in his example, that the understanding of prophecy gives a truly spiritual insight into the eternal essence of the Church, and into the temporal, unessential, and corrupt elements of the Church. In this respect Spener only developed consistently the principle of the Reformation.

Chiliasm disappeared in the Church in proportion as Roman Papal Catholicism advanced. For, as we remarked above, the papacy, with its fundamental tendency to seek power and external glory, is, in its inmost essence, a false anticipation of the millennial kingdom. Bengel says, p. 664, "When Christianity became a worldly power by Constantine, the hope of the future was weakened by the joy over the present success."¹ Romanism is nothing else but an ecclesiastical system of this tendency; the papacy took to itself, as a robbery, that glory, which is an object of hope, and can only be reached by obedience and humility of the cross. When the Church became a harlot, she ceased to be a bride who goes to meet her bridegroom; and thus Chiliasm necessarily disappeared. This is the deep truth, which lies at the bottom of the Protestant, anti-papistic interpretation of the Apocalypse.

The Reformation protested successfully against the harlot, by opposing to it the original Christian principle of *faith*, which is

¹ Compare Baumgarten, *Nachtgesichte Sacharjas*, i. 100, etc. We cannot agree with Baumgarten in his theory of the separation of Church and State, in his over-estimate of Schleiermacher, and other subjects.

opposed not only to the works of the law, but to living by *sight*, and to a false externalization of the Church. The Reformers expressed this by their Scriptural and important distinction, so rich in practical consequences, of visible and invisible Church. What is visible is temporal, what is invisible is eternal, is destined to an eternal and exceedingly abundant glory. We cannot, however, take this glory to ourselves; but the Lord will give it to us at His coming. At present our life is invisible, it is hid with Christ in God; but when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory (2 Cor. iv. 17, 18; Col. iii. 3, 4). This is the necessary connection between faith and hope (comp. Heb. xi. 1; Rom. iv. 18). The fundamental principle of apostolic Christianity, viz., faith, is inseparable from apostolic Chiliasm. This connection of faith and the future glory is repeatedly pointed out in the Epistle to the Romans, the grand charter of the Reformation (Rom. v. 2, 17, viii. 17-25, 30, chap. xi.); and we find this connection throughout the whole New Testament; and in the two first centuries, the Church had a living understanding of it.

The Reformers did not carry out their principle far enough to attain a biblical Chiliasm. Their work lay in a different direction. We know what retarded such a development of the fundamental principle, and how much of the old abuses insinuated themselves into the Church. Scholasticism, priestly tyranny, Cesareopapism, which Bengel called the Apap, besides the Papa, brought Antichiliasm. The orthodox State-church thought itself infallible, even as the papal Church-state did; and, again, the harlot did not desire or want a millennial kingdom. The conscience of the Reformation protested against this new corruption of the Church, in the person of *Spener*. He carried out the principle of the Reformation in a twofold manner. In the first place, he showed the practical bearings of the distinction between visible and invisible church. This faithful witness of Christ knew how to combine filial reverence for the existing Church, as the bearer of the pure word and sacraments, with

a holy zeal for the house of God, which impelled him to lay open the abuses and sins of which she was guilty. He avoided, with great wisdom and prudence, the false expedient of secession;¹ and yet he was able to satisfy the deeper wants of believing people, by cherishing *the Church within the communion of saints*, as a communion of the word, and he founded in this free and brotherly manner, little churches within the Church. He was humble and wise enough to see, that it is impossible to have a perfectly pure Church during the present dispensation, during the present world-power; but he had, on the other side, strong faith, and did not relinquish the hope of the times of a perfect Church. And herein consists the connection of his active labours with his second development of the principle of the Reformation, viz.: "the hope of better times," which times we cannot bring about by our activity, but which the Lord will send, after the destruction of the Antichristian power and the conversion of Israel. In this manner, the Protestant principle began to appropriate to itself Chiliasm, and to become more like Primitive Christianity; and these beginnings of Spener were farther developed by Bengel. He followed also Spener in the first of the two points, just now mentioned, and belongs to the fathers of Württemberg Pietism.

From these remarks, it will appear, that notwithstanding all their defects, the apocalyptic and chronological systems of Bengel were of very great importance for the development of the Protestant, and consequently in general of the Christian Church. Let us form our estimates, not according to the opinion of the market-place of church history, but according to real value, manifest from the fruits of eternal life, produced in them who are true members of the Church.

¹ Comp. his treatise, "Rechter Gebrauch und Missbrauch von Klagen, über den Verfall der Kirche," recently edited again by Superintendent Thym, under the title: "Is the Evangelical (Protestant) Church Babylon, and is it a necessary duty to secede from her?"—Greifswalde, 1853. Comp. the excellent pamphlet of Fabri, on Church Discipline.—Stuttgart, 1854.

In concluding our remarks on *Bengel*, we may fitly deduce, from the foregoing, some general ideas on the world historical mission character of Protestantism. *Bengel* himself uttered the memorable saying: "The present Protestant Church is only an intermistic church, between the Church, hidden during the papacy, and the glorious Church of the millennial kingdom."—*Burk*, p. 296. This remark harmonises with the comparison, which we instituted in a previous part, between the Protestant times in the New, and the post-exilian period in the Old Covenant. It is not the task of Protestantism to oppose to the papal church another of corresponding external perfection; the outward form is only of secondary importance, and, comparatively speaking, a matter of indifference; the object of Protestantism is, under whatever form it be, to preach the gospel, to gain souls—and as for the rest, to wait for the coming of the Lord. Only such a view gives true light for our times, and affords us divine comfort, to support us in the victories which the harlot and the beast are achieving, and which we cannot hinder, while it will give us true soberness of spirit to resist every false kind of Protestant churchianity and church constructing, and give us, at the same time, strength and vigour to concentrate ourselves on what is essential, instead of wasting our energies on non-essentials. It seems as if the Reformation had not had the destiny of being the morning dawn of a new world-historical day, but that its importance can be understood only in connection with eschatology. Soon after the sun of the gospel had risen, dark thick clouds gathered, and veiled it, more or less, for a long dreary millennium; in the evening, however, the light was once more to break victoriously through the veil of clouds. For the Lord cannot come to judge Christendom till He has given again an opportunity of hearing His gospel proclaimed faithfully and purely. It was, in like manner, that the prophets came before the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, and that our Lord and the apostles preached to Israel before the Roman destruction of the holy city. The three Protestant

centuries have brought us nearer the end; the wound of the beast is being healed—the times are becoming daily more similar to the primitive apostolic period. 'Apocalyptic prophecy is approaching its fulfilment. For this reason, the Lord adds to the light of faith also the light of hope. He leads us ever deeper into the understanding of the Apocalypse, and will give us apostolic knowledge for apostolic times and struggles. It is the indisputable merit of Bengel, that he prepared the way for such a knowledge.

II. THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH COMMENTATORS ELLIOTT AND GAUSSEN.

Elliott, whose work mentioned above, is, as we are informed, one of the most important (if not *the* most important) British productions on the Apocalypse of modern times, gives (iii. p. 5; iv. p. 18, etc.) an exposition of chap. xii., etc., which is essentially as follows.

The woman is the true Church, primarily, during the time when Christianity was about to be made the state religion of the Roman empire. Sun and moon are the rulers of the state; the stars, according to Rev. i. 20, the spiritual rulers and teachers. The woman's being with child for 280 days, is the period of 280 years from the time of Christ's ascension to the year 318. The dragon is old Roman paganism, which concentrates its power for the last time in Maximinius, who persecuted and put down the third part of the stars; the Christian teachers in the third part of the Roman empire, viz.—the Asiatic, which was subject to him. The male son is the first Christian emperor and his successors, who rule the heathen with an iron rod. By his being caught up to God, is symbolised the complete victory of Christianity over paganism. At the same time, it may be applied to the elevation of Christ to the throne of God, that is, the victory of the doctrine of Christ's divinity, as main-

tained in the Nicean Council, against the heresies of Arius. By the wilderness, into which the woman flies, is meant the wilderness in which the true Church, the little flock, is living at present. The casting out of the dragon represents the complete downfall of paganism, which had made a new effort in the person of Julian the apostate. The flying into the wilderness, with eagles wings, is the conclusion of the first flight. The 1260 days are identical with the three and a half times and forty-two months, they denote years, and extend from about the sixth to the nineteenth century—the time of papal power. The flood of waters is the migration of nations, against which the Christian state offers protection to the Church.

The beast, arising out of the sea, is identical with the beast out of the bottomless pit; in like manner, the last (eighth) horn of the beast, identical with the little horn of the fourth beast in Daniel, and also with the man of sin (2 Thess. ii.) and Antichrist (1 John ii.). The beast signifies the Roman empire, and the seven heads its forms of government, kings, consuls, dictators, decemviri, tribunes of war, emperors. The seventh head is the new form of government, which has more of an oriental character, and which the empire assumed under Diocletian. This seventh head received the wound to death, by which we are to understand the formal abolition of heathenism by Theodosius. It is healed, by the rise of the papal power, which is the eighth, Antichrist. The number of the beast, 666, signifies, according to the calculation of the numerical value of letters, *λαρεῖρος* (the Latin). The ten horns are tribes in the period of migration: Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Heruli, Avari, Ostrogoths. The forty-two months of the beast are consequently 1260 years, and begin with the spread of the Justinian code on the one side, and the edict of Phocas (606 A.D.) on the other, which acknowledged the pre-eminence of the Roman church. The false prophet is the papal clergy, who rendered and caused the people to render divine honour to the vicar of Christ.

The harlot Babylon is Rome, ancient and modern. The fall of Rome refers not merely to the city, but includes, at least, the papal state, and a third of Christendom. The catastrophe is brought about by a sudden awful earthquake and volcanic eruption, for which the soil of Italy is preparing (Rev. xvi. 18, etc.). The devastation and burning of Babylon by the ten kings (xvii. 16, etc.), is not identical with this fall. Elliott referred it formerly to the fall of the papal power in the French Revolution; at present he is inclined to understand by it the former ruin of pagan Rome by the nations of the migration (iii. p. 366; iv. p. 28). Shortly before the downfall of Babylon, which is still in the future, great religious light will be given, xviii. 4; so that whoever, both in the Church and in the world, is willing to see, will receive warning either during or after the catastrophe, the Jews and a great multitude of Gentiles will be converted. In two decennia the six millennia of the world are fulfilled, and the millennial kingdom commences.

Gausсен follows, in his interpretation, chiefly the labours of British theologians. He enumerates "the most successful commentators" as follows:—Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Jerome; afterwards the Waldenses and Wicliffites; afterwards Mede, Vitringa, Newton, Cressener; and, in modern times, Faber, Cunninghame, Irving, Bickersteth, Birks, and the excellent Elliott." He agrees in many points with the last, but he has also original and important ideas. The following is the sum and substance of his remarks on the Apocalypse, in the third volume of his work.

The woman is the Church of the elect. She is clothed with the sun, for the glory of God and Christ gives her light. The apostles of the Lamb are her diadem; under her feet is the moon, that is the Old Testament light. Her state upon earth is almost continually one of pangs and pains of travail. During the time, which is spoken of here, she was to bring forth a male son, that is, a people possessing political unity and power, and triumphant over its enemies. The 280 years

of her being with child, begin with the death of Christ, in the year 33 A.D.); the pangs of birth on Sunday the 19th April 303, when, throughout the Roman empire, the enemies began to destroy churches, to burn Bibles, and to put to death believers. The birth took place in the year 313, when Licinius and Constantine issued their edict of toleration; the dragon is likewise conceived, as personified in Maximus. It is cast out of the political heaven to earth, when Maximinus destroys paganism. But after this the dragon makes another effort to destroy the woman by the Arians, who became masters of the world, and persecuted her for forty years. "Then she fled into the wilderness. But strengthened by the wonderful government of the great Theodosius, and nourished by holy teachers, especially the incomparable works of St Augustine, she received from God wings of eagles, which enabled her to fly in the wilderness" (p. 257). The dragon now makes a third attempt against her, by sending the flood of waters, that is, the nations of the migration against the Church, but the earth helps the woman; the barbarous nations are civilised and Christianised. Thus we have here the spouse of Christ, the true Church of God, hidden and a stranger in this evil world; flying on eagle wings before Pharoah into the wilderness, where God nourishes her with hidden manna; while her children, scattered among the heathens, are exposed to the most violent persecutions (ver. 17). The men of this world do not see her till the marriage feast of the Lamb (p. 262, etc.).

The reader will see that Elliott and Gausсен agree essentially in their views of the twelfth chapter; also, in regard to chronology, the latter follows the former. Both, we see, do not refer the dragon to mean immediately the devil, but the heathen Roman world-power inspired by him. On this view is based Gausсен's further conception of the beasts, which is partly different from that of Elliott. The dragon, the beast out of the sea, the beast out of the bottomless pit are, according to Gausсен, the Roman empire in the three great epochs of its history,

autocrate, polycrate (*decem royale*), démocrate. During the end of the first, the Roman empire is Christianised ; the second begins with the migration of nations, the third in the year 1789. The dragon has crowns on its head ; a sign that Rome, the city of seven hills, is still a crowned city ; the beast out of the sea has crowns on its horns ; they represent the ten absolute kings of the tribes of the migration ; the beast out of the bottomless pit has no crowns at all ; this is democracy, with its citizen kings, Louis Philippe, Leopold of Belgium, Charles Albert of Piedmont, etc.

Gausсен agrees with Elliott with regard to the six first of the seven heads, they understand by them the older Roman forms of government. According to Gausсен, the wound unto death was received by the sixth head—referring it to the overthrow of the Roman empire by Odoacer 467 ; it is healed either 537, by Justinian, or 800, by Charlemagne in the restoration of the empire ; consequently, the sixth head was in existence till 1806, when Francis II. (of Austria) had to give up his title, Kaiser of the holy Roman empire. The seventh head is Napoleon ; the eighth, the sovereignty of the people.

The false prophet and the harlot are to be viewed conjointly, and correspond to the little horn (Daniel vii.), or the papacy, representing its two great epochs in the following manner : the false prophet represents the polycratic period (chap. xiii.), and the harlot the democratic period of the Roman empire. The false prophet is an ecclesiastical kingdom, corresponding as the spiritual counterpart to the government of the absolute kings ; the harlot Babylon is the Roman court, which is able to gain the democratic masses, and using this new turn of affairs for its own advantage, persecutes the saints. The false prophet and the harlot exist also cotemporaneously, and the latter is destroyed before the former by the Italian nations, who previously adopt political radicalism.

Such is a rapid sketch of Gausсен's interpretation in its leading features. There is something sublime and grand in his simple juxtaposition of the three periods of the worldly and spiritual power,

dragon and woman (chap. xii.); the beast out of the sea, and the false prophet (chap. xiii.); the beast out of the bottomless pit, and the harlot (chap. xvii.). Though this view is not perfectly correct, yet the book abounds in ingenious, delicate, and suggestive observations, and would well deserve a German translation. We mention, for instance, his clear insight into the relation of the woman in chap. xii. to the woman in chap. xvii. The title of the chapter, "*les deux femmes*," shows of itself, that Gausсен saw the cardinal point which German exegesis has hitherto overlooked. "The contrast to the spouse of the Lamb, the persecuted, despised woman, a fugitive in the wilderness, but within so beautiful, so pure, so full of glory (Ps. xlv.), is the woman clothed in purple and scarlet, but a harlot and drunken with blood, who is seen sitting upon the beast. The one was hidden from the eyes of the mighty of this world, but the other rides proudly aloft in the kingdom of the Latins—the one is oppressed and in many tribulations, the other boasts of her prosperity, "I sit a queen, she says, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow" (xviii. 7); the one is the spouse of the Lamb, the other a harlot; the one is persecuted by the Latin kings, the other commits fornication with them; the one is a friend of the martyrs of Jesus Christ, the other sheds their blood; the one is nourished in the wilderness by God; the other is drunken, and with blood, even the blood of Christ's people; the one is the mother of them "who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ," the other is the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth (xii. 17; xvii. 5). These two women represent Jerusalem and Rome, the two prophetic poles of the spiritual world, as Dr *Cappadose* calls them. The one is the holy city Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven from God, and has the glory of God (xxi. 2), the other is Rome, the great city, which, in the time of St John, reigned over the kings of the earth (xvii. 18), the Babylon of modern times, by whose enchantments all nations were seduced, and in which is found the blood of the prophets and saints" (p. 263, etc.).

On comparing these two books with the exposition of *Bengel*, it is clear that the church-historical view has made considerable progress in the right direction. It approaches the third mode of interpretation, which starts from the idea of the history of the kingdom. It is not guilty, to the same extent, of arbitrariness, and there is more of a leading principle in the expositions of Elliott, and especially of Gaussen. Above all, the chronology, which is a necessary adjunct of the church-historical view, is much simpler; by the admission that the 1260 days, 42 months, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, are identical in all five passages, and represent the long period of the Roman Germanic Church, their chronology is not far from being correct. Besides this, there are many principal points of view, which this shape of the church-historical view has in common with the third class, to which we belong; to instance only a few, the distinct character, and the union of Roman and Germanic elements, heathen and christianised world-power, invisible church, and church conforming to the world.

To speak of details. The exposition of the twelfth chapter, given by Elliott and Gaussen, is, at all events, simpler, and coincides better with fulfilment than that of *Bengel*. But this chapter remains the chief stone of offence for the church-historical view, and though Elliott's and Gaussen's exposition is perhaps the best which can be given from their stand-point, yet we cannot characterise it as natural and textual. The birth of the male son must needs be something more than the origin of the Christian state, which was not a pure, divine child of the chaste woman, but, as it is well known, had many impure and worldly elements. *Elliott* himself does not seem to feel quite at rest in this interpretation; he is doubtful whether to refer it to the introduction of Christianity as a State religion, or to the successful defence of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, two events of a vastly different character.

In like manner, the interpretation of the casting out of the dragon is untenable. Elliott and Gaussen are forced to under-

stand by the dragon, not the devil himself ; but this is against the express interpretation given in the text itself, ver. 9. Moreover, they overlook that the dragon is cast out in this aspect, that he no longer accuses the brethren before God (ver. 10) ; whereas, in his character as persecutor, he is not cast out, for his persecutions continue even after the event here spoken of. Notwithstanding all this, there are many valuable remarks in Gausсен's exposition of this chapter ; and in the exposition of the floods of waters, and their being swallowed up by the earth, and also of the wrath of the dragon, we agree with the views of both commentators.

With regard to the beast out of the sea and out of the bottomless pit, even *Elliott's* view is much more advanced than that of Bengel, inasmuch as he recognises its worldly political character, and, consequently, sees that the five first heads reach back into the time before John. It is true, he refers it after all only to the papacy (in vol. iii. 558–570, he defends this view at length against the objections of Hengstenberg and Lücke), and he gives the same antipapistic interpretation to the false prophet and the harlot. According to this view, all the chief symbols of the Apocalypse would refer almost exclusively to the papacy. This of itself is improbable, and Elliott himself feels it necessary to take into consideration the apostasy of infidelity, for, in an Appendix (iii. 575, etc.), he speaks of a parallelism between the doings and sayings of the modern spirit of infidelity and that of the dragon of Roman heathenism in its last conflict with Christianity. Besides, it is incompatible with the text to refer the three symbolic figures to the papal church, because such an exposition does not sufficiently distinguish between the beast symbols and the human symbols of the book. And, lastly, this view limits the practical importance and usefulness of the Apocalypse, as it refers everything to those without, and cannot find any reproof for ourselves ; in this respect let us bear in mind what is written (1 Cor. v. 12, 13). *Gausсен* has advanced considerably beyond *Elliott*, inasmuch as he refers the beast with the seven

heads, in its various shapes and phases, altogether to the political power. He is mistaken, however, regarding the false prophet, whom he places in too near a relation with the harlot, and whom he likewise refers to the papal church; here, also, he overlooks the great distinction between beast symbol and human symbol. Gaussen's views of "woman, harlot, and the beast with the seven heads," are essentially correct. Only, with reference to the last, we except his referring it, along with Elliott, and after the precedent of Vitringa, to the former Roman forms of government, and not the former world-monarchies; and, consequently, he adopts an erroneous view of the wound unto death and its being healed.

We rejoice, however, that there is such considerable harmony in essentials between Gaussen's exposition and our own; and we would fain cherish the hope, that the believers of all nations will gradually arrive at a unanimous view of the essential contents of the Revelation of St John. For such a hope we bless the Lord, who is preparing His Church for the heavy trials which await her.

II. THE SECOND VIEW (EWALD, DE WETTE, LÜCKE, ETC.)

This class of commentators take essentially the same view of the twelfth chapter as we do. But their interpretation of the two beasts and the harlot differs materially from ours. They refer the first beast to the political world-power, but only to the Roman empire, which manifests and centres its persecuting spirit in Nero. The five first heads of the beast, of which it is said, they are fallen, are the five emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. It is in the times of the last emperor, and during the first impressions of his persecutions, that the Apocalypse was written. Nero is the head with the death-wound, for he committed suicide; but the wound is healed, and after the seventh emperor has reigned for a short time, he will

return again alive as the eighth, the Antichrist. Under the second beast, the false prophet, "the apocalyptic author may have thought either of the Roman Augurs and Haruspices or of magicians and deceivers, like Simon Magus" (De Wette, Offenb. Johann., p. 142). The harlot is the city of Rome, of which Nero is to take possession at his return, with the aid of the ten horns, that is, his Parthian allies, or the Roman prefects. After this, it seems that he goes to Palestine, where Christ, who appears now the second time, conquers and destroys him (De Wette i., 160, 165-171).

This view is, in the first place, exegetically untenable. It has the fault, in common with the church-historical view, that it does not sufficiently consider the Old Testament foundation of the Apocalyptic symbols, and that it cleaves to historical individual events; with this important difference, however, that this view, not believing in the existence of prophecy, in the strict sense of the word, looks for the exposition of the Revelations to the events contemporary with John, and not, as the former, to the future of the seer.

We have shown, in our previous remarks, that the beast is, on the one side, an image of the prince of the world; on the other, a combination of all the Danielic beasts, and that, for this twofold reason, it can only refer to the world-power, in its total world-historical development. Owing to their erroneous general view, this second class of commentators are not capable of explaining satisfactorily the number seven (of its heads); they cannot show why John expected another emperor, and only one other, to come after the one under whose reign he lived. With regard to the harlot, we have likewise shown, that her unmistakable connection with the woman in the twelfth chapter, and the entire *usus loquendi* of Holy Scripture, render it impossible to refer her merely to the city of Rome. Another great difficulty, which opposes this whole view, is thus expressed by Ebrard (p. 462, etc.) in his own manner:—"According to this view, John compiled his Apocalypse under the reign of Galba,

prophesied correctly that Otho was to reign only a short time, but was under the false expectation that Nero would reappear after Otho's death. Before the book could have had any circulation, history gave the lie to his predictions; but as an honest man of the modern enlightened school, he took great care not to repress his fabrication, and the churches, as wise people, did not at all perceive the mistake! Would it not be waste of paper to say anything in the way of refutation of such a hypothesis?" This is the same reason which, we saw in our remarks on Daniel, renders the supposition of the Maccabean data of that book impossible.

The centre of the Apocalypse is, according to this view, based, to use De Wette's words, "on a popular Roman rumour and superstitious expectation," p. 168. This pagan superstition, that Nero would reappear, occurs in Christian sibyllines and the ascension of Isaiah, and such apocrypha are taken as helps for interpreting the Revelations. *Lücke* has to confess (p. 167, etc.) that "the prophecy was not fulfilled in its original sense, and will never be fulfilled in such a sense." It is a natural consequence of such a view, that the Apocalypse cannot be what it announces itself to be (chap. i. 1), a revelation of Jesus Christ, given to him by God. *Lücke* gives the following summary of his views on the subject, p. 400: "Though we have no right to deny absolutely an objective origin of the Apocalypse, from ecstasies and visions, yet we have a right to think of the individual visions contained in the book as prophetic poetry," comp. p. 200. "The purely practical literature of the first gospels and apostolic epistles, works, which the exigencies of the times absolutely required, were gradually succeeded by a kind of leisure-and-pleasure-literature, since many men, of a literary turn and habit, entered the Christian Church, and saw nothing in Christianity to prevent their following literary pursuits." We see such a view is, in its result, *mythical*, as it is in its principle rationalistic and subversive of faith in revelation. In the main, there is no difference between such a procedure and that of

Strauss, who degrades the canonical gospels to the level of the apocryphal; or that of *Baur*, who inserts the apostolic epistles into the series of the pseudo-epigraphic writings of the second century. And such (according to *Lücke*, p. 1) is the "protection and moderation of modern criticism and science, under which the book has been placed now for some time." (!)

In our remarks on the apocalyptic form of prophecy, we spoke of the apocryphal apocalypses. Their relation to the canonical ones is no other than that in which, according to a universal historical law, all imitations and caricatures stand to phenomena of world-historical importance, and which is in proportion to the grandeur and sanctity of the reality copied. Moses called forth Egyptian sorcerers; the Messiah, the false messiahs; the canonical gospel, the apocryphal ones; the reformation, the Anabaptists, etc. To take the lower phenomena as a measure of the higher, is a fundamental feature which pervades the whole of our "modern science," and is, indeed, very characteristic. The word of God is degraded to the level of profane books; the Son of God to that of common men; God himself to that of the world. The next step is,—and, in consistency, it will be, and is taken, that man is looked upon as a superior species of beast, as is the case in the newest philosophy, which denies immortality and spirit. And how can it be otherwise, when the holy distinction is forgotten between "from above" and "from below?" The end of this development is the beast nature. This is exactly what the Apocalypse has foretold.

Lücke speaks, nevertheless, warmly about the canonical dignity of the Apocalypse, and even attempts repeatedly to represent the view according to which the Apocalypse speaks of contemporaneous history as the pneumatic one (p. 916, 853, 1060). But this only proves that the heart of this theologian stands in a different relation to the sacred book from that which his intellect points out; but, looking away from the person to the thing itself, we cannot designate this mode of treating the subject otherwise than as an attempt to clothe the wolf in sheep's clothing. We

do not doubt for a moment that *Lücke* is faithful and conscientious in his work on the Apocalypse, but we do doubt whether his stand-point, viewed objectively, is at all tenable. There are a number of theologians, of high honour and worth, who, emerging from a period of transition, combine, in their persons, Christian faith and devotion, with a rationalistic critical mode of viewing holy Scripture. Let us, who belong to the younger generation, never forget how much gratitude we owe them for their manifold labours. But their stand-point is subjective and individual, and it is a logical as well as moral impossibility to make it the general and stereotype one in the Church. While the one party advances from the milk of babes to a more nourishing meat for strong men, the other party who, adopting the mythical view, refuse to hear anything about a devotional frame of mind for understanding the Apocalypse, cannot be accused of inconsistency. Indeed, if the mythic view of the two apocalyptic books of Daniel and John be correct, then one thing is certain, they are not canonical. How am I to treat such a book before my congregation? And suppose a simple countryman, looking me in the face with his unsophisticated eyes, should ask me, Well, these angels did not appear really to John and Daniel? And it is not even quite certain whether such a man as Daniel lived? Did the Lord, from His throne, reveal to John the pagan superstition about Nero? Woe to the pastor who does not feel such questions in his heart of hearts, and does not perceive his inconsistent position, who dares to wrap himself up in the proud folds of his academic robe. Thus the suspicion with which the congregation regards learning and science, is justified and increased, and the discord prolonged which subsists between faith and, not knowledge, but scholasticism. I may be permitted to remind of what the Saviour says about giving offence to the least of His faithful disciples! Christianity, in its simplicity, vigour, and adaptation for the people,—the Christianity of fishermen and publicans, of the poor and the children,—easily becomes a stranger to us men of the professorial chair; as there is an erudition pe-

cular to the study, so there is a Christianity of the study which never sees the sun except through the dusty window-panes. *Lücke* warned us, not long since, in a most excellent manner, against the artificial and unnatural method which threatens to insinuate itself into orthodox exegesis through works such as that of *Delitzsch* on the gospel of *Matthew*. We require such warnings; we ought to feel grateful for them. But what can be more artificial and unnatural; what can be more against common sense and conscience, than to say of a book, that it is both fictitious and canonical? This is exactly as if a man, who beats his wife, would exhort his children to treat their mother with filial respect.

III. THE THIRD VIEW (HOFMANN, HENGSTENBERG, EBRARD, ETC.)

From our previous remarks, the reader will have seen that the first mode of interpreting the *Apocalypse*, according to which, the book contains a chronological history of the Church, and the second view, which refers it to contemporary history, stand in a similar relation to each other, as *Old Orthodoxy* and *Rationalism*. Whereas, the third view corresponds to the stand-point of modern evangelical theology, the pneumatic or organic, or theanthropical, or by whatever name it may be characterized.

Two things are necessary in order to obtain a historical view. In the first place, it is necessary to know the subject in its specific peculiarity, and in all its bearings; and secondly, to connect this subject with kindred subjects, either prior or subsequent, which stand to it in a casual connection, in order to view it as a link in the entire chain of historical development. Instead of this, theologians, for upwards of a century, thought it a historical method to ignore the two mentioned fundamental conditions of the study of history; to deprive biblical subjects of their specific peculiarity, which consists in their connection with revelation, and to view them in connection with heterogeneous objects, which are altogether extraneous to the sphere of revelation. In so far

as the development of sinful humanity has to pass, not merely through antitheses, but also through contradictions, this may be called a necessary point of transition, taking necessary in the sense spoken of, Matt. xviii. 7. For a long time the Church did not sufficiently recognize the historical development in revelation itself, but viewed revelation rather as an object which had come to us all ready and finished, in order to be the source of true doctrine. Hence, in a sense, it may be said, that it was necessary that for a while revelation should be lowered to the level of a sphere where historical development and organic connection were recognized and studied with ever-increasing diligence and energy, viz., the sphere of profane history, that thus the historical view of revelation may be attained. Here theology was vividly reminded of what it had neglected so long, although the Bengel school, for example, shows that such a progress would have been likewise possible from the biblical stand-point, which adheres faithfully to belief in divine revelation. It is as erroneous to lower revelation to the level of profane history, as it would be to lower history to the level of inorganic matter, or man to the level of the beast. Therefore, although it is not erroneous to say that the old orthodox and the rationalistic stand-points are two extremes, the one representing the exclusively divine, the other the exclusively human mode of conception, yet let it be remembered that these two extremes are not equally legitimate. For truth descends from God to man; it does not develop itself from man Godwards; *the divine element* is the essential foundation throughout. Although Rationalism may be frequently in the right, in a formal point of view, and though it prepares a progression, scientifically in opposition to orthodoxy, yet as far as its material contents are concerned, it is ungodly and unbiblical. We acknowledge, gratefully, the services of Rationalism as regards the *γράμμα* language, Archæology, etc., although our old divines were by no means so defective in these respects as people like to represent; but if Rationalism is a grammarian, it is by no means pneumatic. It laid stress on the historical, but

not yet in its unity with the ideal, the divine, and spiritual ; and thus, after having divested the history of the Bible of its spirit, it had necessarily to attack its historical character, and to degrade it to the mythical. In the same way, it had necessarily to give up the prophetic character of "prophecy" and to degrade it to mere conception and presentiment, the truth of which consists chiefly in a few general ideas. Because Rationalism does not recognise the Bible as word,—as God's word,—in which the Spirit created its body in the letter ; it falls, on the one side, into a false literalness ; on the other, into a false spiritualism. Opposed to all this,—orthodoxy is essentially and materially in the right ; it has true reverence for the divine word, and is in substantial agreement with its teaching, although it sometimes commits blunders in the scientific shaping of its views.

The Revelations of John and Daniel is one of the last posts occupied by the commentators who oppose revelation. Even here they are not without their merits ; they have dispersed the mountains of arbitrary assumptions, heaped up by the church-historical interpretation ; moreover, they guard against the extravaganzas of exegetical fancy, such as make their appearance too frequently in the British churches and in the Apocalyptic pamphlet literature. Besides this, Rationalism has been instrumental in opening our eyes to the external arrangement of the Apocalypse, by asserting successfully, the system of parallel groups ; it pointed out, in many respects, the natural meaning of passages (for instance, of chapter xii.), and contributed valuable data from the apocryphal Apocalyptic books. All this we admit ; but we add, all this has been done at the expense of the essential point. As the church-historical view puts things arbitrarily into the book, the view of the Revelation, as containing contemporary history, empties the book arbitrarily of its fulness. The one adhered to the divine, spiritual point of view, without regarding the historical measure and law, and hence exchanges the symbolic interpretation for the allegorical : it does not understand how to interpret the sacred book by

church history, but it puts church history into the book. It connects history and prophecy in an external, mechanical manner; the interpretation does not grow out of the text, but is forced into the text,—it is a filling up of the grand outlines, given from above, with human history; but the divine character of the book is cordially and fully recognised. It is quite different with the rationalistic view. There prophecy and history do not coincide at all. Prophecy expected one thing, the development of history proved another thing. History is not the fulfilment of prophecy. But if so, then prophecy ceases to be prophecy; it is viewed only as conception, imagination, presentiment of the future. In the church-historical view, it is only the interpretation which is fantastic and allegorical; but here it is the prophecy which is represented as fantastical and allegorical: there interpretation ceases to be interpretation; here prophecy loses its prophetic character. But hereby the divine canonical dignity of the book is given up. There is scarcely a subject, where the deficiencies of the old orthodox, and the radical faultiness of the modern rationalistic view, appear in so distinct and striking a light as the Apocalypse.

The present task of evangelical theology is to overcome the rationalistic, unhistorical historicism, but not by a retrograde movement to the old unhistorical stand-point, but by a right appreciation of sacred history. One of our most important tasks is the history of revelation, viz., of the revelation of God to humanity. It is only when viewed from this point—the history of revelation—that the sacred book, which significantly, and in a peculiar sense, bears the name Revelation, can be truly understood. Without the Apocalypse, it would be impossible for us to have a history of revelation, or of the kingdom of God; for it is only the Apocalypse where we can distinctly see the goal to which the ways of the Eternal are tending—the end and purpose which He had in view in all His doings on earth from the beginning. And, in like manner, as the book points, by its contents, to the end of all revelation, its position is at the end

of the divine revelations, given hitherto, of which it forms the final consummation. In this book all the other biblical books end and meet.

Such is the starting-point of the view, which recognizes the idea of the history of the kingdom, or of revelation, as of central importance. We know that in all His revelations, also the apocalyptic ones, the Lord adapts himself to the situations and the necessities of men, His children on earth. Hence the Apocalypse is an immediate product of divine inspiration, and, at the same time, it is in connection and on the foundation of the past and present of the history of revelation. In this manner, our view contains the truth of both the preceding stand-points, not by joining them mechanically, but by inwardly overcoming the defects of both. Essentially at one with orthodoxy—adhering firmly to belief in the revelation of God—this mode of interpretation has yet not refused to learn from the Rationalists, in a formal point of view. It regards the Apocalypse, not as the production of a Jewish Christian, who, incited or excited by contemporary events, devoted his leisure hours to embody his imaginations and expectations of the future in the favourite apocalyptic form, as an artistic one; but it equally holds, that the Apocalypse, as it actually lies before us, cannot be regarded as a dictation of the omniscient God, *containing individual church-historical events*. John, on the contrary, was most thoroughly acquainted with Holy Scripture; he had appropriated the entire previous revelation of God, by a pure and pneumatic understanding of it; he had, more especially, thoroughly digested the prophets, in their spirit, in their language, and symbolism. Hence he possessed the surest spiritual insight into the then state of the church, and the purest spiritual feeling and perceptions. He was, at that time, the only surviving apostle of those pillars of the church, on whom, humanly speaking, the whole edifice of the church rested. All nerves of the body are concentrated in him. The congregation of Christ had even then the divine treasure in an earthen vessel. She extended ever further

over the godless world. Persecuted by the world, she is not destroyed, but, on the contrary, increases and spreads. But she is ever more and more subdued by the world; and, while she spreads over the world, the world insinuates itself into the Church. John saw the beginnings of all these phenomena; he regarded them with a spiritual understanding—with eyes enlightened and strengthened by the prophetic word, and especially by the prophecies, which he had heard from the lips of his Divine Master. These fundamental views were, perhaps, for years, revolving in his mind; and now that they had attained a certain maturity, he received the holy Revelation, at a period of his life which was characterized by most important and deeply exciting events—during a time of persecutions, when all prophetic reminiscences were called forth in him with fresh vividness, and when, especially, the Danielic beasts must have forcibly recurred to his mind. It was one great *ecstasis* which was given him; but we see how many points of connection with this revelation the Lord had created in His beloved disciple, and how He had prepared him to be a fit recipient of all those disclosures which are necessary for the Gentile Church during her earthly pilgrimage.

Such is the stand-point of the third view. In its material aspect, it differs from the church-historical view, and that which refers the Apocalypse to contemporary history, in that it regards the book as related to the history of the kingdom; in its formal aspect, it may be designated as the symbolic view, while the first is allegorical, the second mythical. The first scientific development of the third view was given by Hofmann, in his work "*Weissagung und Erfüllung*." In this work prophecy is explained throughout (only in a manner which goes too far) by history and its typical contents, and the Apocalypse is represented as the crown and consummation of all preceding prophecy. "The contents of the Apocalypse," Hofmann observes, p. 376, "is based, on the one side, upon the Old Testament prophecy, seen in the light of the New Testament;

and, on the other, on an insight into the state of things, as existing in the time of Domitian."

I. F. CHR. K. HOFMANN.

"The whole book of Revelation consists, excluding introduction and conclusion, of five groups of prophecy, of which the first refers to the present of the seer, chaps. ii. and iii.; the second, chap. iv. 1-viii. 1, to the future as a whole; the other three—(1.) chap. viii. 2-xi. 19; (2.) chap. xii.-xiv.; and, (3.) chap. xv. 1, xvi. 15, to the end. The last three are thus distinguished from each other: The third contains the last divine calls to repentance previous to the judgment; the fourth describes the last struggle against the congregation in the flesh; the fifth the judgment of wrath upon the world, and the deliverance of the Church" (p. 375, etc.).

According to this division, Hofmann refers also the twelfth chapter, in its essential contents, to the past times. By the woman, he understands, not the church in general, but only the Jewish church, which gives birth to the Saviour, who is, consequently, the male son. From the time of the birth of the Saviour, to the time of Antichrist, the Israelitish church is on its flight. The goal of this flight is the Holy Land, now become a wilderness and desolation, but whither the Jewish church of God will return, in order to be protected there, in the last half prophetic week, during which Antichrist reigns, against its persecutor, and to be miraculously supported by God. The flight of the woman is the same as the sealing of the 144,000. The casting of the devil out of heaven likewise belongs to the future, viz., the commencement of the Antichristian period; "because the description here given is intended to show the state of the kingdom of God upon earth, as it will be at the time when the devil can no longer hope to destroy the Jewish Church of God by his accusations (before God), and will, therefore,

strive, with increased fury, to destroy her by his violence and power upon earth" (p. 357). The flood of waters, and the swallowing up of the flood by the earth, are figurative representations. The remnant of the woman's seed is "the seed of Abraham in the uncircumcision—the believing Gentile Christians—against whom the wicked one will wage war, after the Church of Israel has escaped him, by its miraculous speedy flight" (p. 353).

The beast with seven heads is the Roman world-power, in that shape which it is to assume at the end of the history of nations. "The five kings which are fallen," are the Assyrian, Chaldean, Persian, Greek, and Antiochus; Rome's Cæsar is the sixth; the seventh, whom John yet expects, is the Germanic.¹ The eighth, or the Antichrist, is Antiochus returning out of the abyss, the abode of the dead, so that the wound unto death, which was healed, refers to the fifth head (pp. 355, 305, 371, 377, 345). As the first beast represents the world-power, attacking the church from without, so the second beast—the false prophet—is the false doctrine, which is an ally of the king of blasphemy, and an internal enemy of the church (375–356). The harlot—Babylon—is the world-metropolis, the centre of union for all nations; which was Rome at the time of John. It will be destroyed by the last world-ruler, aided by the ten horns, which signify, not possessors of kingdoms, but of royal power exercised in communion and connection with the beast (371, etc.).

It is then that Christ reveals himself as the King, who destroys the beast, and its prince, and its army. "It is necessary that the struggle between the world-power and the Church of Christ on earth, should end with the destruction of the one and the trans-

¹ It does not appear very clearly in what relation, according to Hofmann, the beast of the thirteenth chapter stands to that of the seventeenth. In the former, to judge from p. 355, he seems to see the fourth Roman beast of Daniel; it is only (p. 371) when treating the seventeenth chapter, that he speaks of world-monarchies in general, as he does, in a similar way (p. 305), of seven shapes or phases of the world-power, which, taken conjointly, form the symbol of the same.

figuration of the other, and this without forming the conclusion of history itself; since world-kingdom and humanity are not one and the same thing, and humanity may have a history after the destruction of the former, even as it had one, before kingdoms and nations existed," p. 376. This is the idea of the millennial kingdom, more fully developed by Hofmann, p. 286. The struggle between Christ and the wicked one will become stronger and stronger, till no means will have remained untried by the wicked one to tempt and afflict the Church, consequently, he can threaten her with destruction, only in as far as the Church consists of men, who dwell in mortal bodies. But then the superior power of Him, to whom the Church belongs, can manifest itself only by changing their mortal bodies into immortal, according to the power of His working, and by presenting to the eye of the world, those who have died in the communion of His spirit in a transfigured body,—only in such a manner can the invisible life of the Church be finally justified and vindicated against unbelief and unreason. This final event is preceded by the highest abuse of power, and by the most concentrated form of the false witness on the one side, and by the severest divine chastisement and the clearest witness for the truth on the other, and it is followed by a time in which the Church will rule the world by the visible manifestation of herself in her transfigured glory. Moreover, as the Church is in a world of nations and kingdoms, it is necessary that she manifest herself in a manner adapted to a world thus ordered, without, however, bringing about the final end of history as such. The only thing, which is thus brought to its end, is the opposition between the communion based upon the redemption of Christ, and the communion based upon human right and earthly power. But this opposition being done away with, it is possible that a new method of divine education should come into existence, since Christ, and the power exercised by Him through His transfigured Church, have taken the place of those powers, which were hitherto active in the formation of human communities. The manifest visible glory of the Church,

not only renders it impossible to doubt any longer the divine character of her essence, but checks likewise the influence of evil, which is otherwise left free, upon those human beings who are not belonging to the congregation of God. The only thing which will then oppose the influence of the power, proceeding from the transfigured church, and which will prevent its producing saving effects in all souls, is the inherited sinfulness of our nature. At last, even this time and method of divine long-suffering will come to its end, and not be succeeded by another. For what influence can move the heart of him, in whom the manifest visible glory of the church, during the time when the influence of evil is restrained, evokes no longing after the communion of the church's King? As the history of the world of nations ended with the manifestation of the Church in visible glory, the history of humanity in general will end with the great separation of the just from the wicked. All this is contained in the present experience of the Church as a prophecy of the end of her history. If we add to this, the testimony of the Old Testament Scriptures concerning the end of God's leadings, we gain especially the additional knowledge, that in those last days the calling and election of Israel, and the destiny of Canaan, will be manifested and realized. Israel, in contradistinction to the rest of the world of nations and peoples, will again be the people of God, because, as a whole—as a nation—it holds fast the hope of the completion of the divine work of redemption; and, for this reason, Israel will be the special object of the hatred of the world-power. As a consequence of this, Canaan and Zion are again the chosen localities of God's deeds, and we have thus to expect, that the land of promise will be glorified above, and distinguished from, the other lands of the earth, when the Church of Christ is revealed in glory. A prototype of the enmity with which the world-power will assail Israel on account of its hope, may be seen in the persecutions of the Jewish people by Antiochus Epiphanes, which we are taught by the revelations of Daniel to view in connection with the concluding history of

Israel. Compare also Hofmann's *Schriftbeweis*, i. 53-55. We regard it as a great merit of Hofmann, that he has not only witnessed for the biblical truth of the millennial kingdom—a doctrine which Bengel had brought again to light—and expounded it in its scriptural fulness, but that he has attempted to show the internal basis of this doctrine, and to view it as an organic part of the total development of the divine kingdom. Though we differ from him in some subordinate points, which, owing to the comparative newness of these truths, have not yet been sufficiently investigated, and which we can only expect will become clear in the course of time, we are not hindered thereby in our cordial agreement with his view as a whole. Hofmann appropriated to modern theology the truth proclaimed by Bengel; he has given it a further development, and he is the first who began to correct, in a scriptural manner, the error of Bengel and the church-historical view in general, by leading us back to the right interpretation of the beast out of the sea and out of the bottomless pit, and by showing the seven heads to mean the world-power according to the parallel image of Daniel. While we acknowledge this, we must mention a minor difference in our views of the monarchies. With *Hengstenberg* we leave out Antiochus and prefix Egypt; our reasons are contained in the previous part of this book. There is nothing in Daniel to justify the enumeration of Antiochus as representing a separate world-kingdom, for he is not mentioned at all in the principal passages chap. vii. and chap. ii., and in the eighth and eleventh chapters he appears only as a part of the Greek monarchy. This of itself overthrows the fantastic idea, that Antichrist will be Antiochus returning from the dead, for which there is not the slightest foundation or necessity in the Apocalypse of John, or in the prophecies of Daniel, and which seems to us to be traceable to an unfortunate impression left on Hofmann's mind by the rationalistic idea of the return of Nero.

This view of Hofmann does not account satisfactorily for the wound unto death, for Antiochus did not die in any other manner

than Cyrus and Alexander, and we showed above, that the wound refers not to the fifth but to the seventh head.

Asserting the two important truths concerning the millennial kingdom and the world-power, Hofmann returned to the primitive view of the Apocalypse. The Chiliasm of the most ancient church is a well known fact, which we need not prove. As *Giesel* says (*Kirchengeschichte* i., 1. p. 166): "In all writings of these centuries (the second and third) Chiliasm is so distinctly and prominently mentioned, that we cannot hesitate in regarding it as the general belief of that age." With regard to the beast, the interpretation of the heads as denoting the world-kingsdoms or ages of the world, is found in the writings of *Irenaeus* and *Hippolytus*, more distinctly in *Andreas* of Cesarea in Cappadocia, who lived in the end of the fifth century, of whose commentary Lücke says, p. 990, that it is the first connected commentary on the Apocalypse, and the root of all the succeeding ones. *Irenaeus* (ver. 25, etc.) applies his fundamental ideas of the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις or recapitulation to Antichrist; and in this case his idea is peculiarly correct and fertile: Antichrist concentrates and consummates all the apostacy and unrighteousness and malice, and lying prophecy and cunning, which has existed during the six millennia of the world's existence (ver. 28-2, 29-2). There could not be a more striking description of the eighth in his relation to the seven heads. Moreover, *Irenaeus* follows *Daniel* so closely in his view of the whole, that Lücke himself (page 863) observes, that his interpretation of the seven kings, as representing the world-monarchies, is, according to *Daniel*. Although, as far as I know, there is no passage in *Irenaeus*, in which he develops more fully his view on the heads and kingdoms, yet the truth of Lücke's observation appears also from the circumstance, that *Irenaeus* (30-3) adduces as an argument in favour of the interpretation, which refers the number of the beast to the name *Λατίνος*, that such was the designation of the last kingdom, because the "Latins are now ruling." From which it is evident, that he thought the fallen heads represented former

kingdoms. Of *Hippolytus*, we are told by Andreas, that he referred the seven heads or kings, to world-periods (*sacula*), of which five were past and the sixth present at the time, when the apostle had his vision. *Andreas* himself¹ is struck by the connection between the two expressions, mountains and kings. The mountains he takes to be seven places, distinguished by their worldly power, metropolitan cities; the kings are they who first stood at the head of these local centres of the world-power; but their name stands per synecdoche for the whole kingdom. Accordingly, he enumerates the seven heads as follows: The Assyrian kingdom, with its founder Ninus, and capital Nineveh; the (ancient) Median, with Arbaras and Ecbatana; the Persian, with Cyrus and Susa; the Greek, with Alexander; the Roman, with Romulus or Augustus, and Rome; finally, the Oriental, Christian-Roman kingdom, with Constantine and modern Rome. Of the last he is doubtful; he says, p. 143, "The seventh kingdom had not come yet in the time of St John, it may refer to the modern Roman kingdom, or perhaps to another." In this view of the beast, Andreas follows principally the older commentators: Primasius in the sixth, Beda and Ansbertus in the eighth century, and, in a latter age, Bishop Haymon of Halberstadt.

We think, however, Hofmann's view of the woman and the harlot altogether erroneous. He does not see the true connection of the two; and, moreover, he interprets them incorrectly, by referring the woman to the Israelitish congregation exclusively, and the harlot to the metropolis of the world-power. The harlot cannot be of the same nature as the beast; the distinctive character of humanity and beast renders this impossible; besides, what could be meant by Antichrist destroying his own metropolis, why should such great importance be attributed to this event in chapters xvii.-xix., since it is (according to Hofmann) only an insignificant prelude of the great judgment of

¹ Andreas, Caes. Cappad. episc. in Joh. Apocal. Commentarii, ante hac quidem nunquam in lucem edit., nunc vero Theod. Peltani studio luce simul et latinitate donati. Ingolstadii 1584, p. 142, et seq.

God, which soon after is sent on the whole antichristian power? Compare, with this view, the truth, that the world-power is called to execute judgment on the apostate church, which is not only a satisfactory and literal exposition of the text, but based on the analogy of Holy Scripture.

Hofmann's exposition of the twelfth chapter appears to us very forced. Compared with ours, we admit that, at first sight, it seems to have the advantage in point of consistency. We also understand by the woman at first the Israelitish congregation of God, but afterwards refer it to the faithful congregation of Christians, which is based on the Israelitish church and forms its continuation, since, in place of the natural branches broken off the olive-tree, others from the wild olive-tree were grafted in (Rom. xi. 17). Now, would it not have been more consistent to refer the woman throughout to the Jewish Church? It is impossible to do this. There is no believing Jewish Church during the whole church-historical period, and only the believing congregation of God can be called "the woman." If such was not the case, we would expect an indication similar to that, given of the beast, of its non-existence and return. And, moreover, how unnatural and forced is the sudden transition from the birth of Christ (ver. 6) to the antichristian period, a transition for which there is no ground or connecting link in the words of the text. How unnatural, to understand by the wilderness the Holy Land, and, consequently, to make the woman flee *from* Canaan, where she gives birth to the Saviour, *to* Canaan—without the slightest intimation being given of the intermediate period, which embraces more than a thousand years! Also, the casting out of Satan, the flood, and the swallowing up of the flood by the earth, do not receive a full and adequate explanation. Finally, it is impossible to say in what relation the 1260 days or three times and a half, during which believing Israel is to be sheltered in the Holy Land from the persecutions of Antichrist, stand to the 1260 days or forty-two months, during which Jerusalem is trodden under foot by the Gentiles, and the believing Israelites

are exposed to the persecutions of Antichrist (Rev. xi. 2, 3; Dan. vii. 25).¹ According to Hofmann, these two periods cannot be identical, for it is impossible that the Jewish congregation of God should be, at the same time, persecuted and sheltered from persecution; that the Holy Land should be, at the same time, desolate and a place of refuge. But it is impossible that the times of Jerusalem's distress should precede the time of its restoration, for, if so, how could the Jewish Church flee to the Holy Land in order to escape this very persecution? Nor can it be subsequent, for then the Church of God would not have been really sheltered from destruction.

We can here see distinctly the chief defect of Hofmann's interpretation, which appears frequently in his exposition. He proceeds, as yet, too one-sidedly, from an Old Testament and eschatological stand-point. The prophets of the Old Covenant, who spoke to and for their nation, mostly passed over the church-historical period, because, during that time, Israel retreats into the background. But John, who writes for the Gentile Christian Church, writes with the very purpose to throw apocalyptic light on this period. Hence, would it not be strange, if in this book, the Gentile church was mentioned only incidentally at the end of the twelfth chapter, in an annexed (seventeenth) verse. For the same reason, it is erroneous to refer everything in our book to the last Antichristian times exclusively. This is especially true, with regard to the numbers. The period of three and a half times, or forty-two months, or 1260 days, embraces not merely the time of Antichrist's power, but it is evidently meant in the Apocalypse, to refer, according to the stand-point of the New Testament, to the times of the Gentiles in general. It is true that, in the last times, there is a recapitulation—a final consummation of the whole church-historical development; it is true that then, and not sooner, an essentially new period of the kingdom commences, which is the subject and centre of pro-

¹ Comp. Ebrard Offenb. Joh., p. 363.

phesy, and to which it brings every one of its groups to converge; this is the grand *respice finem*. But we are instructed likewise to judge of the tree by its fruits. Hofmann does not recognise this sufficiently; to the church-historical view he opposes justly that view which regards the history of the kingdom as the central and leading idea; but he is too one-sided in his opposition, and overlooks the important place which the church-historical period occupies in New Testament prophecy. Hengstenberg's commentary may be viewed as a reaction from this extreme, but is itself another extreme. Hofmann is too one-sidedly futuristic, Hengstenberg too one-sidedly, and much more one-sidedly preteristic, if I may use the expressions of the English Theologian Davidson (Lücke, 1067, etc.).

II. HENGSTENBERG.

Hengstenberg's exposition of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters, is essentially the same as ours. There are differences in the details, and in general he inclines to a figurative, indefinite, and generalising mode of conception.

He regards with us the woman as "the one inseparable church of the Old and New Covenants" (i. 595), the birth of the male son, and his removal to heaven, as the birth and ascension of Jesus; the casting out of the devil, which he takes as figurative, as the immediate fruit of the redemption accomplished by Christ, in the sense of John xii. 31. The flight into the wilderness (ver. 6, 14), he generalizes and sees in it "the preservation of the suffering cross-bearing church, notwithstanding all its persecutions and destitution," p. 609. In like manner, the number of 1260 days, or three and a half years, has "no historical signification whatever, and is only to be viewed in its relation to the number seven, viz., as symbolising the apparent victory of the world over the Church," p. 610. By the floods of water, Hengstenberg understands the Roman persecutions,

and by the earth helping the woman, the Germanic tribes, which is the reverse of our expositions, but stands in necessary connection with his interpretation of the beast.

The beast out of the sea and the bottomless pit, he explains as we do, only that he refers the deadly wound to the sixth head, and understands by it "the deadly wound, which the God-opposed Roman power received, through the redemption of Christ" (ii. 1, p. 3, 24, etc.); that the wound was healed, though only "apparently, and for a time," appears from the Roman persecutions of Christians. The beast out of the earth is "the wisdom of this world, which has always been the companion and ally of the God-opposed world-power," p. 43. Thus Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar had their wise men, and, in the Roman persecution of the Christians, "the weapons of spirit, and the weapons of power, combined in opposing the new principle; likewise the efforts made by worldly philosophy to prop up pagan idolatry, are to be viewed in this connection," p. 48, etc. "The great harlot differs from the sixth head, only in so far as this head denotes the Roman world-power, whereas the harlot means the city of Rome, in which this world-power is concentrated. By fornication is meant cunning and evil policy," pp. 240, 241.

Hengstenberg's exposition of chap. xvii.-xx. is very peculiar. He sees in them a description of the overthrow of the Roman world-power by the Germanic nations, and the Christianization of the latter. For the ten horns, he says, which we are to conceive as belonging to the seventh head, are in round number the Germanic tribes and kings, which, like a flood, invaded the Roman empire. The destruction of Babylon by the ten horns, is the overthrow of the Roman world-power by the Germanic tribes. They also are at first opposed to Christianity, as is shown by the numerous martyrs, down to Boniface; but they remain only a short time (Rev. xvii. 10-14) as Antichristian powers. "The first world-historical appearance of the Germanic nations coincides almost exactly with the beginning of their Christianization;" and this Christianization

is represented in chap. xix. under the image of their being conquered in a great battle by Christ. "It is true," Hengstenberg admits, "that everything in that chapter leads us to view the mission of Christ, there spoken of, as chiefly one of wrath and judgment; but heavy afflictions are the occasion of the Germanic nations turning to Christianity. What terrible events were necessary, in order to crush their obstinacy, and to make their hard hearts soft and receptive. 162,000 men covered the battle-field in the plains of Chalons; in the country of the Picenti 50,000 men died of hunger," etc. (pp. 266, 263, 375, 332, etc.). Thus "the commencement of the millennial kingdom coincides with the Christianization of the Germanic nations, and the millennium itself is (to speak roughly), identical with the German empire, which lasted a thousand years," p. 375. At present, specially since the year 1848, we are living in the period of Gog and Magog, that "short space of time, during which Satan is loosed again."

Such is an abstract of Hengstenberg's view. We rejoice, that in the interpretation of the woman, the dragon, and the beast, we agree with Hengstenberg, at least in the most important points; likewise we attach the same important and awful character to the present time as he does. But, for this reason, we must protest the more energetically against his extravagantly exaggerated estimate of the past, and against the arbitrariness and violent strokes of his exegesis connected with this view. We shall direct our attention to these in particular; and there is no important symbol of the Apocalypse, where such arbitrariness is not to be met in his exegesis.

In the vision of the woman and dragon, we must object to the interpretation of the flood and the earth. We have proved before, that water and earth form a contrast, in the symbolic language of Revelation. Water, and still more floods of water, represent the world of nations, moving and flowing in unbounded unregulated freedom; the earth, on the contrary, symbolises consolidated and organized nations. Hence the

flood of water can only refer to the Germanic tribes, and the earth to the Roman world-power, but not the reverse.

In the interpretation of the beast with seven heads, Hengstenberg's view of the deadly wound and the eighth head (Rev. xvii. 11), is untenable.¹ We agree in viewing the wound in connection with the work of Christ. But he refers the wound to the sixth head, and speaks of an annihilation of the Roman world-power, contemporary with the death of Christ. It may be fair to ask, where in history we may find a vestige of such an annihilation? If we are to understand, as Hengstenberg does, by the deadly wound, the judgment, which was passed in Golgotha upon the world (John xii. 31), then the "healing of the wound" has no meaning, and the seventh, Germanic head, should likewise be represented as wounded to death. For the judgment of Golgotha is a judgment for all times.

Hengstenberg is altogether incapable of explaining the eighth head, and the change which, according to the seventeenth chapter, passes over the beast. He wants to supply to "even he (the beast) is the eighth" (Rev. xvii. 11) "in perdition," that is, whereas the beast survived formerly its different heads, it is now itself to be cast into the burning lake (p. 257). But such a supplement is, in the first place, altogether arbitrary, and, in the second, of no use whatever. For it is true, that the whole beast is now destroyed; but for this very reason it cannot assume a new shape, least of all when it is in perdition, in the burning lake. We might expect, with the same right, that in the case of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, a fifth king should make his appearance after it is broken in pieces by the stone; and what meaning could this possibly have? Hengstenberg, owing to this interpretation, cannot understand the doctrine of a personal Antichrist, and he has to explain it away in a forced manner in 2 Thess. ii. For this reason he sets aside the natural, and, as he

¹ Comp. *Baur*. Criticism on Hengstenberg's Commentary of the Apocalypse, in *Baur and Zeller's Theolog. Jahrb.*, 1852, iii. pp. 343, 346, etc.

himself admits, generally adopted interpretation, which combines the eighth horn, and the little horn in Daniel, and advances the fantastic view, that the latter corresponds to Gog and Magog. In doing so, he altogether forgets his own admission, "that the horns in Daniel correspond exactly to the ten horns in the Apocalypse" (ii. 1, 15). If so, how can Gog and Magog refer to the past, and humble three of the ten horns (Dan. vii. 8, 24), which were cast into the burning lake, a thousand years before their time? But we must remember, that according to Hengstenberg, the casting into the burning lake refers to the Christianization, and that, strictly speaking, the ten horns are still existing on earth (p. 268). It is said also of Satan, that he was cast into the lake of fire, where the beasts are (Rev. xx. 10). Is this likewise to refer to his Christianization?

With regard to the pseudo-prophet, Hengstenberg has beautifully shown, that he is the constant companion, ally, and servant, of the political world-power. But he admits, according to the words of the text, "that the work of this enemy, as described in the Revelations, begins only at the time when the conflict between the first beast and the kingdom of God is resumed after the healing of the deadly wound (p. 43, etc.). This struggle lasts during the existence, not only of the sixth, but, as we saw, also of the seventh head, that is, of the Germanic tribes, before their Christianization. How can this be reconciled with Rev. xix. 20, where it is said, that the false prophet is cast along with the first beast into the burning lake? Did perhaps the hordes of the migration oppose a false philosophy to Christianity?

It might be difficult for Hengstenberg to show, that according to the *usus loquendi* of Scripture, fornication can mean "cunning, evil policy." In general he shares the misapprehension, common to German commentators, who understand by the harlot only the city of Rome, which is the more remarkable, as he points out the parallelism of the women in the twelfth, seventeenth, and twenty-first chapters (i. 595, ii. 1, 238). This was

done likewise by Bengel. This error has consequences, which prove peculiarly inconvenient to Hengstenberg's view; for he has to refer the destruction of Babylon to the overthrow of the Roman world-power by the Germanic tribes. We saw above, that according to him, there is no other difference between the harlot and the sixth head of the beast, than there is between the city of Rome and the Roman world-power. But the Germanic tribes destroyed the latter, and not the former; therefore he has to invert his former interpretation, and to say, that Babylon does not mean the city of Rome, properly speaking, but the Roman world-power (ii. pp. 272, etc., 315, etc.).

As regards his view concerning the coming of Christ (chap. xix.) to judge the two beasts, the analogy of the destruction of Jerusalem, which the Lord himself denotes as an act of His Messianic coming, might be adduced in favour of explaining also this coming to be invisible. But can any thing equal the arbitrary manner in which Hengstenberg changes judgment into conversion, the casting into the burning lake into Christianization. Against such a procedure testifies the very analogy of the destruction of Jerusalem, the analogy (spoken of before) of the devil, and every word of the text.

Hengstenberg denies that the first resurrection is to be real and literal, because it is not mentioned in any other part of Scripture. We may refer him simply to even De Wette's interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 16. According to Hengstenberg, "there can be no doubt that the most natural exposition is to refer the first resurrection to the blessedness of believers, which begins immediately after their departure from this life." And the reason why this blessedness is here spoken of, he says, "is altogether and exclusively, because here the question is suggested to St John, with regard to the destiny of the believers who fall asleep during this millennium" (ii. 1, p. 357, etc.). Such artificial expedients meet their own reward. But we would request Hengstenberg to consider what he is doing here! Such a procedure is, to speak the strict truth, to reject the

words of God, in order to keep his own additions. In another place, he himself says, "I am endeavouring to have a good conscience with regard to all the declarations of Holy Scripture, to do violence to none, to wish of none of them in my heart, that they were not in the Bible, and to stand to them in the same relation as that occupied by the investigator of nature, who microscopically examines her phenomena again and again, and afterwards faithfully reports what he has thus seen (*Über den Tag des Herrn*, p. 4, etc.).

And what shall we say to his doctrine of the millennial kingdom? One is at a loss, whether to be more astonished at the enormous weakening and spiritualising of the words of prophecy, in his interpretation, or at his extraordinary over-estimate of the church-historical time in general, or the manner in which, without making any distinction, he places the darkest periods of the middle ages, and of the papacy, on an equality with the period of the Reformation, and looks on them as golden times. And is it during these thousand years, in which Roman Catholics, Rationalists, and orthodox Protestants committed so many—and oh! so many grievous sins, and that in the very name of Christ, that Satan was bound? Is it in the times of the persecution of the Waldenses, of the Inquisition, of the Huguenots, and massacre of St Bartholomew, that the martyrs ruled the world? Is it in these ages—when, it is true, princes called themselves apostolic majesties, most Christian kings, etc., but lived in most heinous sins—that the priests of God and Christ were kings? Is it in these times "that the transfigured members of Christ could look down with holy pride upon earth, where the Church, to which they had devoted their strength and their lives, in times of affliction and humiliation, was now the ruling power, so that all things on earth were ordered according to their will, resting on Christ" (p. 361)? It is very lamentable, indeed, that a man like Hengstenberg is thus contributing to the confusion of the spiritual judgment of the Church and the world, and is not able to gain, even from the study of the prophets, a clearer and

deeper insight. He confuses what was a false anticipation of the millennial kingdom, with that kingdom itself—an external political, with essential and spiritual, Christianity—what was merely nominal, and profession of the lip, with Christianity, real, and really victorious. If we seek the glory of the millennial kingdom, which ought to be our hope, incitement, and our light, in the ages that are past, then we necessarily fall into a dangerous looking back to, and striving after, the state of those times, when Christianity possessed greater outward and political power, instead of looking forward, and keeping fast the hope of better times; and a practical consequence of such a view, is a confusion of church and state, introducing state-elements into the affairs of the church, and church-elements into the affairs of the state—a confusion which is based on a deep misunderstanding of the cross of Christ, as the mystery of His kingdom, and which is, to say the least, in constant danger of making flesh its arm. This view, however, is not only a retrograde motion in an ecclesiastico-political respect, but also in a theological one. By its confusing church and state, this interpretation throws away the results of Bengel's and Spener's labours, and sinks back to the stand-point of the old orthodox exegesis, the error of which was much more pardonable, since the truth held in the apostolic ages had not been then found again by the Church. Thus the progress which, according to Delitzsch's remark, quoted above, prophetic theology has made since Bengel, and is making in our own times, would be hereby swept away, as the buds and blossoms of spring are blighted by a frosty night. What a broad shadow falls from this point on Hengstenberg's entire view of the Old Testament!

The true elements of Hengstenberg's interpretation of the Apocalypse are likewise contained in our exposition. What Hengstenberg calls the millennial kingdom, we regard as the healing of the deadly wound of the beast. And he himself involuntarily expresses his approbation of this view, when he observes, correctly as to the matter, but unfounded as regards

the exegesis (ii. 144): "The first beast appears again in Gog and Magog, and, therefore, we have to view his inseparable companion, the second beast, as not buried for ever. Every word that is said concerning the false prophet, is full of practical importance for us. Wherever the God-opposed world-power gains strength, there also God-opposed wisdom immediately makes its appearance."

III. EBRARD.

Hofmann, we saw, referred the contents of the chief portion of the Apocalypse, under our consideration, too one-sidedly to the future; Hengstenberg, with still greater one-sidedness, to the past; Ebrard has begun to keep the right mean. The fundamental view with which he starts, is the true and correct one: "The book of Revelation does not contain predictions and presages of contingent, individual events; but it contains warning and comforting prophecies concerning the great leading powers, which take part in the great conflict between Christ and the enemy: it contains so much, that every age may learn from it more and more how to recognize and guard against the serpent, in its manifold disguised appearances, and that the afflicted and troubled Church of Christ, during all periods, may derive courage and comfort from its disclosures" (p. 634). *Ebrard* sees correctly from this stand-point, that the two grand forms of the serpent's disguise are false faith and infidelity—Phariseeism and Sadduceeism. The manner, however, in which he carries out this leading idea, in which he interprets and explains individual passages, is often arbitrary, rash, and superficial.

The arrangement of the book is, according to him, as follows: "The prophecies are divided into four visions, differing both in contents and form. The first (chap. i. 9—chap. iii.) represents Christ, in His relation to the seven manifestations of His Church, as shepherd; the second, that of the seven seals and seven

trumpets (chaps. iv.-xi.), represents Christ in His relation, as Ruler of the world, to the powers of the world and nature, which must serve for the spread of His kingdom; the third, the vision of the dragon and the beast out of the sea (chaps. xii.-xiv.), represents the relation between the godless, who stand under the prince of this world, and the Church of Christ; and the fourth (from chap. xv. to the end), the final development and consummation" (p. 550). Accordingly, Ebrard views the visions of the twelfth and thirteenth chapters as referring distinctly to church history; those of chapters seventeenth to nineteenth as eschatological, and referring to the last antichristian period. Also, in his view of the indications of time, we are essentially at one with him. The 42 months, or 1260 days, are the church-historical period from the ascension of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Antichrist; the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days (Rev. xi. 9) are identical with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of Daniel (vii. 25), viz., the period of Antichrist, which forms the transition between the church-historical period and the millennial kingdom. While we agree in all these respects, we have to object to many points of the interpretation given by Ebrard, of the individual symbols of the Apocalypse.

The woman of the twelfth chapter, he interprets in a similar way as Hofmann (to whom he attributes, by a strange mistake, our view, pp. 359-372), to refer to Israel according to the flesh, in so far as it is the subject of promises. The male son is the Lord Jesus, whose birth and ascension are here described. The flight into the wilderness (ver. 6) denotes the banishment and dispersion, into which the children of Israel are again sent during the church-historical period. Since the progression, in this chapter, is one of simple chronology, the casting out of the dragon takes place at the end of the church-historical and the beginning of the Antichristian period, and signifies that Satan can no longer accuse Israel, as it is now a converted people. For this reason he persecutes converted Israel, into which the Christian Church is then received, so that the two are identical

(p. 370). The woman, however, who, accordingly, is now the whole Church of the Messiah, is sheltered from the persecutions in a place of refuge, which is probably Jerusalem and Canaan (p. 593). This is meant by the flight into the wilderness with eagle's wings (ver. 14), which must be carefully distinguished from the flight spoken of ver. 6. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ times (ver. 14) are identical, not with the 1260 days of the church-historical period, but the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist (xi. 9). The floods of water represent the army of Antichrist, from which the congregation is sheltered (ver. 15, etc.). The remnant of the seed of the woman means the Gentile Christians (ver. 17); however, this verse is not to be connected with the preceding verses, but, referring to a previous portion of history, it serves as indicating the subject of the following chapter (chap. xiii.), which contains a description of Satan's war against the Gentile Christian Church (p. 372, etc.).

The beast out of the sea is the world-power, viewed in its totality. The seven heads are (as with Hofmann) Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Syria, and Antiochus, Rome and the Germanic nations. The thirteenth chapter speaks of the beast only in its sixth, that is, Roman, manifestation. The wound unto death refers to the sixth head, and signifies the overthrow of the Ottoman empire by the Germanic and Slavonic tribes of the migration; the healing of the wound is the new Christian-Roman world-power, which is represented chiefly by the papacy. The ten horns, which signify the Germanic nations, are, consequently, to be conceived as belonging to the sixth head, which is in reality then still existing. The beast appears quite differently in the seventeenth chapter, in which the period of the seventh head and the eighth is described, viz., the Antichristian times. Here the ten horns belong to the seventh head, which represents the Germanic kingdoms in their last Antichristian phase, which is only of very short duration. The eighth is "out of the seventh." By this expression Ebrard understands with Hofmann a reference to Antiochus, interpreting

the words, "and is not" (ver. vii.), to indicate that Antiochus is dead; only Ebrard does not suppose the words to mean a personal return of Antiochus; but that the eighth will be, *so to say*, an Antiochus Epiphanes risen from the grave, viz., the person of Antichrist (pp. 465, etc., 626). Thus he distinguishes carefully the wound unto death, and its being healed, from the not-being and the return of the beast (pp. 377, etc., 460). The characteristics of Antichristianity are to be gathered chiefly from the contemporary sixth trumpet and vials of wrath, ver. 13, viewed in conjunction. The army of horsemen, which appears during the sixth trumpet (Rev. ix. 13, 16, etc.) is a revolutionary army, and the three unclean spirits which, during the sixth vial, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet (xvi. 13), represent a spirit which promises the masses to give them a share in the government of the world, a spirit which gives the masses power to interfere with the church, and which preaches to them the false doctrine of Pantheism; and, thirdly, a spirit which blasphemes and denies, in daring infidelity, the God of heaven, and openly mocks and scorns His commandments, for instance, by declaring marriage to be a foolish and senseless institution, property to be theft, murder a virtue (p. 622). Preludes of the final fulfilment of this prophecy belong to the history of our own days.

The false prophet, whom Ebrard calls the pseudo-lamb, on account of his "two horns of a lamb," is a spiritual power, which, in its appearance and form, resembles Christ as ruling His congregation, but which in reality seduces the nations to serve the prince and the kingdom of this world, instead of serving the Most High. This refers to the abuse of the divine word and spiritual things in general, as is the case when indulgences, forgiveness of sin, salvation of the soul, discipline of the church, excommunication, are used solely for worldly purposes, as means of aggrandisement, and in the interest of political power. The papacy, as a spiritual power, manifests the Roman world-power,

in a visible form, in the see of Rome, and in the Pope, the image of the beast out of the sea (386, 602, etc., 609).

Ebrard's interpretation of the harlot is very peculiar. He regards this symbol as Roma, and identical with the beast of the thirteenth chapter, viz., the Roman (Papal) world-power; it denotes, according to him, this world-power in the last stage of development, in which it has ceased being a world-power in reality, and is only a weak woman, a pseudo-ecclesiastical power (pp. 409, 450, etc., 472, 623, etc.). In this state it is destroyed by Antichrist and his kings; thus false faith is destroyed by infidelity. And then, after this destruction, the Lord appears to judge the Antichristian powers, and to found the millennial kingdom.

Ebrard views the latter subject with biblical soberness and earnestness; this may appear from the following remark, which deserves consideration (p. 511, etc.): "The thousand years must be considered as a mystical number. When the whole long period, from the ascension of Christ to His second coming, is represented symbolically, as half a prophetic week of three and a half years, and the period of the visible existence of the kingdom of God upon earth as a thousand years, we have therein an indication, that the period, after the result of the preceding ages has been gained, will be very much longer than the period of conflicts. The time when Christ's kingdom will exist on earth, will be the true New Testament time, in the strict sense of the word; the present period of the oppressed and militant church is of a duration which appears insignificant when compared with it. And this corresponds also spiritually with the dignity of Christ, whose way it is, not to gain great results by long struggles, but by short conflicts to achieve victories extending through aeons."

Such is Ebrard's view. We observe, first, that his interpretation of the twelfth chapter is not successful. The idea of the woman, as a symbol of the Church of God, that is, the real, faithful, believing Church, speaks of itself against his and Hof-

mann's views. During the church-historical period, Israel, although in possession of divine promises, is not the woman clothed with the sun; on the contrary, Israel then lives in darkness, and is the same adulterous and unfaithful, perverse generation, as it was in the times of Christ. Secondly, the casting of Satan out of heaven cannot refer to so late a period as Ebrard assigns to it, immediately before his being shut up in the bottomless pit, and it was evidently of more universal importance than merely the conversion of Israel. Satan is the prince of the whole world, and the conversion of Israel is by no means identical with the casting of Satan, the prince of the world, out of heaven; if the conversion of the Jews were meant, the symbol would be too grand and important for the subject, and contain an exaggeration which would lead the reader astray. Besides, we would naturally expect to see a change produced by this event in the woman. Ebrard's exposition is peculiarly defective in his view of the fourteenth verse, and its relation to the sixth. It is possible that the chronological terms are to be explained differently in the two verses, but it is difficult to believe that the wilderness should mean a place of banishment in the one passage, and a place of shelter in the other; that in the one verse it should stand for the heathen country of exile, in the other for Jerusalem and Canaan, and, consequently, that the fourteenth verse should contain the very opposite of what is said in the sixth, though the two verses are almost verbatim the same. Ebrard is not able to explain what is meant by the earth, ver. 16, which is so emphatically contrasted with the floods of water, ver. 15; he is inclined to take "earth" literally, and to connect it with Zech. xiv. 4, where it is said that "the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof," and "through this cleft the congregation of God is to pass, whereas the persecutors are to be devoured by it" (p. 370). The great objection to this interpretation is, that we would have to take the flood of waters likewise in a literal sense. The most arbitrary of Ebrard's interpretations is that of verse 17. He refers the remnant of the woman's seed in the

same manner as Hofmann, to the Gentile Christians. But it is impossible to see how such an exposition can be brought into harmony with his view, that the woman, since her conversion, includes also the Gentile church. If so, the persecutions mentioned in verse 15, were directed against it as well as against believing Israel. Ebrard feels the difficulty, and tries, therefore, to refer the seventeenth verse to the subsequent chapter; but how is this possible, seeing that in verse 17 the dragon is still the subject, and the woman is likewise mentioned?

Ebrard's exposition of the beast with the seven heads agrees in its essential point with our interpretation. He likewise distinguishes three periods of the world-power, the heathen period, the period of outward civilisation, and the period during which the world-power divests itself of this outward Christianity and develops its especial Antichristian character. However, Ebrard lays too great emphasis on the papacy, and the details of his exposition are somewhat complicated and artificial, especially with regard to the ten horns and their relation to the sixth and seventh head. According to him, the ten horns inflict the deadly wound on the sixth head, and are hence its enemies, whereas, immediately afterwards, they appear as its friends and vassals. Subsequently, they pass over to the seventh head, and are again hostile to the sixth, which, in the meantime, has become the Babylonian harlot. All this is simply put into the text; and we may confidently ask, whether our exposition of this portion is not much simpler and more natural, whether especially it is not more in harmony with the spirit of the whole passage, to view the death-wound, and not its being healed, as the christianisation of the world-power; for by this outward christianisation it has ceased (relatively speaking) to exist in its beast-like, hostile character. By this interpretation we are freed from the necessity of distinguishing between the wound unto death and the beast's non-existence, between the healing of the wound and the return of the beast, a distinction which, as far as we know, is peculiar to Ebrard, and cannot be

termed successful. For, if Antichrist is only in a figurative sense a returning Antiochus, then he is not of the seven, and it is impossible to see what is meant by the non-existence of the beast.

But the "false prophet" shows much more clearly that this distinction is erroneous. He is the companion of the beast with the seven heads, from the healing of the death-wound to its being cast into the burning lake. Consequently, according to Ebrard, during two of its phases, that of the thirteenth and that of the fourteenth chapter, the pseudo-Christian of the sixth head, and the Antichristian of the seventh and the eighth. But if the first beast passes, after the healing of the wound, through two phases so essentially different, how is it that the second beast remains perfectly unchanged? Can the pseudo-lamb, to use Ebrard's expression, that is, the pseudo-Christian spiritual power, be as such the ally and assistant of the Antichristian power? and, remember, the ally of the Antichristian power as opposing the pseudo-Christian, which, according to chap. xvii., is then existing as the harlot? It is perfectly plain that, according to Ebrard's exposition, the false prophet should stand in chaps. xvii.-xix., not as an ally of the beast, but as an ally of the harlot. He has felt this difficulty but has not solved it (p. 807).

But the view of the harlot is defective in many points. Ebrard excels the other German interpreters, in that he recognises that Babylon is the pseudo-churchly power, the false church. But he does not arrive at this view in the right way, nor does he give a correct development of it. He is led to it, not by the idea of the woman, the Church, but of the city of Rome. It is not exegesis, but fulfilment, which tells him, that the Babylonian harlot is the false church. He has not found yet the truth in its principle, though he has come near to it *de facto*. This explains the strange manner in which he identifies the harlot with the beast of the thirteenth chapter, from which it is evident, that he does not see the fundamental principle of the exposition, the distinction between symbols of

beast and of human beings. The simple question is: Is it more natural, to view the woman of the seventeenth chapter as a continuation of the woman in the twelfth, or as a continuation of the beast in the thirteenth, which, moreover, has its continuation, as is admitted by all, in the beast of the seventeenth chapter? Here again we see how erroneous it is to refer the woman of the twelfth chapter to Israel, as is done by Ebrard and Hofmann. For this reason, Ebrard has not attained to a right view of the harlot as the apostate church. Starting from the idea of the city, Rome, he limits the reference to the Roman church in a too narrow and external manner. The harlot is the unfaithful church, generally and universally; she bears the name of the world-city Babylon, not so much because of its geographical central position, but on account of its inward worldly character, which may possibly concentrate itself again in Rome in the final period, when all apocalyptic powers assume concrete embodiments. In accusing the papal church of Phariseism, let us not ourselves fall into the faults of the Pharisee, but strive to remain in the truly evangelical humility of the publican.

Such are our objections against Ebrard's interpretation. It is erroneous to refer to the papacy, as is done by him and Elliott, the three principal symbols of the book, the beast, the false prophet, and the harlot. There is evidently a pseudo-English element in his view, his exposition may be designated as a combination of Hofmann's with that of Elliott and Gaussen. He feels himself that the Apocalypse cannot possibly refer to the papacy exclusively, and hence, speaking of the beast in the seventeenth chapter, and the parallel passages, he turns to the consideration of infidelity and radicalism. In doing so, he is not free from the mistakes of Gaussen and others, and refers prophecy in too immediate and direct a manner, to events of the present; but we must repeat, in conclusion, that he has established several correct important views, and that his view, as compared to those of Hengstenberg and Hofmann, is decidedly a progress in the right direction.

IV. CONCLUSION.

We have heard voices from England and from France. Let us listen also to a voice from Holland! *Dr Isaac da Costa* of Amsterdam, a richly-gifted Israelite, who has found the Messiah, says: "As one of the most remarkable of the many and manifold signs of the times, we regard this feature of our day, that the hearts of believers are much more directed to the study of the prophetic books of the Old and New Testament, than was the case formerly. At no time was the attention of Christians in all countries so universally directed to the study of unfulfilled prophecy. This interest, this study, characterises a new epoch in the history of the Church, which may be said to have commenced towards the end of the eighteenth century, and which, in its rapidly increasing development, is specially perceptible in our own times. Thus, this period coincides with the period called in the history of the world, the period of the Revolution. And the relation in which this new epoch stands to the Christian Church, is not less remarkable. While infidelity is shaking the fundamental pillars of the papacy, and in its refined forms of Philosophism, Rationalism, and Mysticism, is undermining the Protestant Churches, a new banner is raised up, under which the faith, the zeal, and the interest of Christians may meet and rally. From all sides, we hear voices, calling for a new appreciation, a new and deeper investigation of the Apocalypse. The old spiritualising interpretations of the ancient prophets of Israel, both of fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecy, are no longer thought satisfactory.¹ These voices call for a more concrete, and, at the same time, more simple interpretation of the infallible Word of God, which testifies not only of individual conversions, and the blessedness of heaven, but speaks of a real glory and

¹ *Israel und die Völker, aus dem Hollandischen.* Frankf. Brönnner, 1854, p. 8; (translated into English), *Israel and the Gentiles.* London: Nisbet and Co.

reign of Christ as King of Israel, and of all nations, and describes great events, by which this kingdom will be prepared, established, and characterised."

We endeavoured to contribute, by the present work, towards the solution of the problem, correctly described in the above quotation ; both by the historical survey of the modern interpretation of the Apocalypse, and our own exposition. The characteristic peculiarity of the latter consists in the interpretation of the Babylonian harlot, as viewed in connection with the woman of the twelfth, and also of the nineteenth and twenty-first chapters. All the three classes of German interpretation are defective in this point, not only *Ewald* and *De Wette*, but also *Bengel*, *Hofmann*, *Hengstenberg*, and, strictly speaking, even *Ebrard*. We found a confirmation of our view in the remarks of *Gaussen*, of *Zeller* of *Beuggen*, and several treatises of a more popular kind. Indeed, it is difficult to say, whether it would be more surprising, that all the spiritually-minded men should have been mistaken, who found in the Apocalypse indications of the future apostasy of the Church, and her conforming to the world, or that the Apocalypse should not contain a prophecy, which is of frequent occurrence in the saying of the Lord Jesus and His apostles (*Matt. xxiv.* ; *2 Tim. iii.* ; *2 Pet. ii. and iii.* ; *1 John ii.*). We wish that the spiritual interpretation of the harlot may be appropriated by German exegesis. We had, moreover, to combine this discovery with *Hofmann's* and *Hengstenberg's* view of the beast with seven heads, and we thus arrived at our exposition of the death-wound and its healing, which contains, at the same time, the answer to the question left unsolved in our consideration of *Daniel*, whether prophecy made no distinction between the Christian world-power and the heathen ones. From this point of view, everything assumes simplicity and order, as we trust appears from our exposition, the chief aim of which is, to reduce to fixed principles apocalyptic symbolism, in its connection with the symbolism of *Daniel*. We have left, occasionally, points of details in uncertainty,

because we ourselves have not attained to certainty on all points, and because our chief object is to explain and establish our method and principle.

But our object is not merely to contribute to exegetical theology, and to vindicate the dignity and honour of Holy Scripture in one of its portions hitherto neglected; nor is our object merely to give a fuller treatment of a chapter in eschatological dogmatics, or to arrive at scriptural fundamental ideas on the history of the world and of the Church, so as to be able to view the times in which we live in the light of the divine word. All these objects are of great importance, and though they refer chiefly to the theoretical aspect of the subject, we know that all biblical knowledge is full of life and peace, strength and consolation. But what is of chief importance here, is the practical bearing of the knowledge obtained. The results of our investigation are of the greatest importance in influencing our life as individual Christians and as members of a Church. They contain an earnest judgment on many things done, not only by our enemies in their fury, but by many friends of the kingdom of God, doubtless with good intention, but without such a knowledge of the plans of God as we might possess, and for the ignorance of which we are responsible.

The Revelation of St John, which is given to the Church to be a lamp unto her on her dark path until the coming of the Lord (2 Pet. i. 19), claims and deserves a much more diligent investigation, and earnest consideration, in connection with practical duties, than it has hitherto obtained. It is true, that the great discrepancy between the different interpretations of this book, forms a considerable obstacle, which can only be removed gradually. But so much, we trust, is evident from the preceding pages, that this holy book does not contain a doctrine peculiar to itself, and which is not to be found in other portions of the Bible; but that the fundamental truths of the Old and New Testament are repeated here in a more condensed manner. We meet, in this book, the old well-known elements,

heathenism, unfaithful Israel, the remnant of believers ; we see here Phariseism and Sadduceism, disciples, high priests and governors, the cross and the resurrection ; we meet here simple truths, as those of the straight and the narrow way, of God's choosing what is despised in the eyes of the world ; that the things that are seen are temporal, the things that are not seen are eternal ; that to whom much is given, of them much shall be required ; that faith and patience are the only way leading to seeing, and reigning, etc. The word of prophecy contains nothing else but the practical application and the historical development of these fundamental truths. Therefore, notwithstanding all disputes about different points of interpretation, the essential truths of the Apocalypse are so distinct, that we can plead no excuse for disregarding them ; and if we earnestly endeavour to take them to heart, we will not fail to experience also their divine power and consolation.

But the whole centres in the right distinction between the kingdom and the Church ; suffering and reigning, cross and resurrection ; or, in other words, in the knowledge of the doctrine of the millennial kingdom. He who does not believe that the Lord will come himself to bring about the victory of His kingdom, and to establish it upon earth, thinks of bringing about this great consummation by his own endeavours, and forgets the words : " Without hands of man " (Dan. ii. 34). This is the secret source of the most subtle and powerful delusions which are most dangerous, especially to the elect. These seductions are different from the Antichristian errors which the Bible characterises as possessing the beast nature, such as Pantheism, Materialism, the spirit of the revolution, Socialism, etc. ; although these will be yet much more dangerous when they attain to great power. But it is under the semblance of Christianity, in the name of Christianity, and as is thought, for Christian conscience' sake, that many things are done now-a-days which must appear suspicious and dangerous to such as regard God's word as the infallible guide-book of the Church. There is among us

a strong tendency to change the invisible Church into a visible Church, and the kingdom of the world into the kingdom of God. An element of Roman papal whoredom has insinuated itself into Protestantism ; not only among such as regard Rome with favour, but even among the opponents of the papacy. We see the same spirit manifest itself in various forms, whether it be that the kingdom of God is measured by the standard of the world, or that the Church is given into the hands of the worldly power, or that the Church is striving after outward triumphs, or that the gospel is divested of the offence and ignominy of the cross, and Christianity made palatable to the world by all sorts of concessions and compromises, or that an external perfect Church is contemplated by the means of confessions of faith, liturgies, etc., or even new "apostles" and miraculous gifts—it is always the same spirit, in different forms, which oppose each other the more violently and bitterly, as they partake inwardly of the same character. Chiliasm is thought, in such quarters, to be fantastic and a dream ; and we do not deny that there may be a Chiliasm deserving such a designation. But let us ask, whether it is more "fantastic" to expect that Christianity will obtain universal power, in the usual course of history, by human exertions, or to hope for the coming of the Lord (Isa. xxv. 9). Many apparent victories of Christianity are, in truth and reality, to be viewed as defects ; whereas, what often appears to be a defect, is essentially a victory, because it is a fulfilment of the fundamental laws and prophecies of the gospel. Thus, it will be proved, whether we love in Christianity what is external and acknowledged by man, or what is invisible and eternal.

However, there are even more subtle errors abroad ; errors which start from the prophetic point of view, and lead to an attempt to externalise the Church ; which reach the papal principle of the visible character of the Church by a hyper-protestant separatistic method. There are Christian brethren who see clearly the affliction of Jacob, and who are moved with pity for the people in its distress, but losing the soberness and disci-

pline of the Bible, they wish to go out of Babel before the command is given from on high, and to go to a Jerusalem, as if it were for us and not for the angels, to gather the elect (Matt. xiii. 28, etc. ; 39 etc. ; xxiv. 30, etc.).

Let us who love the word of prophecy, not forget the present, and what has been given us already, in thinking of the things we hope for, lest our study of prophecy degenerate into a mere favourite pursuit of our fancy and unspiritual excitement. Let this hope of the kingdom take the same place in our heart as is assigned to it in the divine word, and let us not change the proportion in which Holy Scripture has placed it to the fundamental truths of Christianity. Let the apostolic word be our motto : For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, *hath appeared* to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world (aeon), *looking for* that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ (Titus ii. 11-13).

All Christians of the present day find it difficult to lay to heart the words, which apply to our days as well as to the days of Isaiah : In quietness and confidence shall be your strength (Is. xxx. 4). But let us remember, that we are living in a time when judgments are preparing, and our only duty is, to be the watchful and prayerful witnesses of the coming Lord. We are, for this reason, not slothful ; we do not fold our hands, only we do not cherish illusive hopes and expectations from our work. Let us be faithful in the little things entrusted to us ; as for the great things, we cannot take them to ourselves, but we wait till the Lord will bring them to us. We look to the souls which have a love for the truth, and our object is to bring them to a knowledge of salvation. If we do not attempt grand and colossal things, if we do not waste our strength in perfecting what is external, then we will have more real fruit unto eternal life ; and after all, all other things are as nothing, as the chaff of the summer thrashing floors. What our generation wants is, wit-

nesses who can lift up their voice in the spirit and power of the prophets, men who can stand in the breach in the hour of temptation, which is coming over the whole earth. In that hour we need to be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might, so that we may achieve the victory; then we must lift up our heads in blessed hope and joy, knowing that our redemption draweth nigh. May our merciful God prepare us for that hour, by teaching us to understand aright, and to practise faithfully the word of the Apocalypse: "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints."

APPENDIX.

Sec. 1. The times of the world may be divided according to different leading ideas, either into the times before and after the birth of Christ, or into the times before and after the flood, or into the times before the giving of the law, the times of the law and the times of the New Testament, or in other ways still; but if we view the kingdom of God in connection with domestic and political institutions, it may be regarded as a good division, and useful in many ways, to divide the *times of the world into four periods*, of which the first extends from Adam to the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt; the second, from the exodus to the beginning of the Babylonian captivity; the third, from the exile to the beginning of the blessed thousand years (Rev. xx.); and the fourth, which embraces the thousand years, and lasts to the end of the world.

Sec. 2 and 3. For the first period of the world-times, God ruled at first all men, and subsequently the better portion of humanity, viz., the families of the patriarchs, and He ruled through the *fathers of families*; for before Nimrod kingdoms were not known, and after him for a long period, world-kingdoms were rare on earth. Job, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had no king or ruler over them, but were free people. Also in Egypt the children of Israel dwelt at first as strangers or guests (Ps. cv. 23; Acts vii. 29; Gen. xv. 13), and not so much as

¹ By Magnus Friedrich Roos. (Comp. p. 20).

subjects; and for this reason, the tyranny which the kings of Egypt exercised over them, and the force wherewith they wished to hinder them from the exodus, were most unjust. Thus, up to the exodus, the government of the fathers of families was the chief rule established among men, although, sooner or later, there were established kingdoms among the heathens, which differed in magnitude and duration, and of which the tower of Babel was the first cause.

Sec. 4. The second period of the world-times was the period of the *free and Old Testament Theocracy*, or the free royal rule of God over His people Israel, according to the law of the Old Testament. God united at that time the children of Israel, who had become very numerous, that they should form one nation, and be His people and a priestly kingdom. He no longer left every father of a family to have the highest authority and governing power, but He gave laws and statutes for all the children of Israel, which Moses, the elders, the priests, the judges, and the kings, were to enact and to administer, without adding anything unto them or taking anything from them. But He himself wished to be Israel's king. Thus, there was established a visible kingdom of God upon earth, which, with its holy laws and statutes, was to be a bright light unto the whole world, and was to allure all men to faith in Jehovah, who is the God of the whole world.

Sec. 5. And, the reason why I call this the time of the Old Testament Theocracy, is, because we hope yet for a New Testament Theocracy (see Sec. 7). Moreover, I call it free Theocracy, because the people of Israel was not to acknowledge the rule of another nation or king as legitimate. Although there were occasionally, during the period of the Judges, times of bondage, and hence times when Israel was subject to other nations, yet such times of servitude were of brief duration, compared with the times of liberty. They were an exception to the rule, which does not annul, but only limit the rule. The foreign kings who subdued Israel, were looked upon as robbers, who were allowed

by Divine permission to oppress the people for a while, but they were not regarded as legitimate rulers of Israel; and, therefore, whenever Israel repented, God called up judges, who drove away or put to death these robbers. In the times of the kings of Israel, no strange nation subdued the whole Jewish people, till the time of the Babylonian monarchy, or the fourth year of Jehoiakim. From that time the Theocracy did not, it is true, cease altogether, inasmuch as the Jews, after the return from Babylon, observed the Jewish law as far as possible, under the direction of their elders and priests, yet they remained subject to the Persians, Greeks, and Romans; and no repentance, no zeal in God's service, no believing the words of the prophets, or even of Christ, brought them deliverance from this bondage, till at last the Theocracy was entirely suspended by the destruction of Jerusalem through the Romans.

Sec. 6. The free Theocracy ceased in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, and the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah; for at that time the Jewish people came, according to God's holy will, under the supremacy of the Babylonians. In this year, which was the 3338 year of the world, commenced the seventy years of the Babylonian exile, as the blessed Doctor Bengel has demonstrated in his "Ordo Temporum." The three last kings of the Jews, Jehoiakim, Jechoniah, and Zedekiah, with the Jewish nation, were subjugated by the Babylonians; and when they made an attempt to revolt, it did not succeed, as before, in the days of King Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 7); but because it was God's will that they should serve the Babylonians (comp. Jer. xxvii. 9-11), their resistance brought only bitter consequences, and they did not succeed, as must happen to all who do not submit to the ways of God, and are not willing to take heed to the signs of the times. From that time the Jewish people has remained subject to the Gentiles and dispersion. After the Babylonian captivity, which the seventy years of the Babylonian servitude rendered a very hard time, a portion of the Jewish people returned again to their

country; yet the whole people was not gathered together, and the efforts and undertakings of the Maccabees to deliver Israel from the Greek dominion, was only a "little help" (Dan. xi. 34), and to be regarded as an exception to the rule. Thus the third period of the world-times is the period of the servitude and dispersion of the holy people.

Sec. 7. In the fourth period of the world-times, the people of Israel shall be again converted, gathered, freed from all foreign supremacy, be visited by God in mercy, with many spiritual and temporal gifts, and be established as a *New Testament Theocracy*, which is the greatest glory upon earth.

Sec. 8. During the rule of the fathers of families, the *Redeemer* was promised by God, under the name of the Seed. For this was adapted to the times. Because to men, who are not living under civil institutions, nothing is more important than their seed. Father of a tribe and seed were then the two most important names upon earth. For this reason God said, to the joy of man, that Eve would have a seed who was to bruise the head of the serpent, that Abraham would have a seed in whom all families of the earth would be blessed. Yet Enoch, at a time when the wickedness of earth was exceeding great, prophesied of the coming of the Lord as a Judge (Jude 14, 15); and Jacob, when prophesying about the future possession of the land of Canaan by his descendants, called in this prospect, the Redeemer a Shilo, or Prince of Peace, unto whom shall be the gathering of the nations. But when Moses the prophet was the leader and captain of the Jews, he prophesied of the Messiah as a prophet (Deut. xviii. 18); and when the Davidic kingdom was flourishing, Christ was promised, in the Second Psalm, and in many other passages, as a King, although there was at that time also the prophecy of His eternal priesthood (Ps. cx. 4), because the Levitical priesthood was then best regulated. The following prophets, who lived during the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, explained these prophecies more fully, and in this manner, that they praise and magnify the future Saviour as a

king, almost throughout all their writings. The last prophets, Ezëkiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who had lived to see the end of the Jewish kingdom, called the Redeemer a Shepherd, an Anointed One, Angel, Zemach. They did not keep silence as to His kingship, but did not speak of it so frequently; moreover, they distinguished the times during which the kingdom was to come gradually, more distinctly, than the former prophets did, so that their prophecies are very necessary to teach us how to understand the older ones. At last the long expected Saviour came into the world, He who is the beginning and the end of all world-times, the salvation of the world, and the Restorer of fallen humanity, and accomplished the work of redemption. This appearing of life among the dead, of light among the blind, of the Saviour among sinners, makes the third period of the world-times, though bearing its name from the servitude and dispersion of God's people Israel, a time of merciful visitation to all who know the things which belong to their peace. But it is in the fourth period of the world-times, that the Saviour will be revealed in glory among Israel, and thereby also among all nations. The fulness, or the whole multitude of the Gentiles, will then enter into the kingdom of God, and all Israel be saved (Rom. xi. 25). Then Israel will arise and shine, for His light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon him. But the Gentiles shall come to his light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising (Is. lx. 1-3).

Sec. 9. Under the rule of the fathers of families, there were few institutions to check, by force, the progress of wickedness, or to inflict punishment on evil doers. For although it is clear, from Gen. xxx. 24, that Judah wished to punish his daughter-in-law, Tamar, with death, on account of fornication, and this in virtue of his being father of the family; yet it is not probable, that such capital punishment, or other severe measures, were employed frequently at that period, of which there is at least no mention made in Holy Scripture. In the kingdoms of the heathens, which had sprung up, there were indeed civil punish-

ments, as appears in the course of Joseph's history ; men likewise now began to carry on wars, but of short duration ; in general men lived in great liberty. Extraordinary punishments from on High were, therefore, peculiarly necessary under this constitution of things, when the sword of government and of war was either not used at all, or very sparingly. And thus the first world was punished by the deluge, Sodom and Gomorrha with fire, the house of Pharaoh and Abimelech with plagues (Gen. xii. 7), Egypt and Pharaoh before and after the exodus of the children of Israel, with very great plagues, and even death ; and as the Theocracy was not yet firmly established in the wilderness, and the powers appointed by God could not yet properly wield the sword, God again and again sent extraordinary punishments. But under the free Theocracy, and during the time of the servitude of the holy people, the judgments of God have mostly assumed a different shape. The sword, which government bears, and is to unsheathe and use righteously, tyrants, who plague a sinful nation, and foreign enemies, who invade a country, are now the ways in which, beside the ordinary plagues of famine and epidemics, God manifests His punishing justice to whole nations, and by which He accomplishes, what, by His command, the miraculous fire had to accomplish in the case of Sodom, the water in the case of Pharaoh and his hosts, and the earth in the case of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. During the free Theocracy of the Old Testament, the divine law, the Urim and Thummim, the word of the prophets sent by God, explained, threatened, or commanded to execute the judgments and punishments of God ; but since the dispersion of the people of God, as it is now ruled by many rulers, and according to different heathen laws ; or by the arbitrariness of mighty men, whom God uses as His instruments, the retributive justice of God, though it is immutable in its essence, reveals itself in a more concealed way. A cruel man falls into the hands of another, who is also cruel ; an unjust man is punished by the injustice of his fellow ; pride oppresses pride, avarice

impoverishes avarice, wherever it sees a possibility. The world is for the most part careless about the Word of God, and yet fulfils the same without either knowing or wishing it, as regards the threatenings it contains. But thanks to our Lord, He preserves still good laws and statutes in all countries, by which much wickedness, especially among the common people, is justly punished. We have hints concerning the judgments which are to take place during the last thousand years of the world in Isa. lx. 12, lxv. 20; Zech. xiv. 17; Ezek. xxxviii. 19-23; Rev. xx. 7. But of this time it is said (Isa. lx. 18), "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction in thy borders: but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise." And Isa. ii. 4, "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." And Isa. liv. 14, "In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear: and from terror; for it shall not come near thee."

Sec. 10. In the same manner, as the judgments of God, by which evil is punished and checked, are executed in different ways in the different times and periods of the world, so, likewise, are the ways different by which God leads His children. We must first consider the *Revelations of God* in their different modes and gradations. During the government of the fathers of families, there was no written word; for Scripture commenced only in the time of the Theocracy. In the whole book of Genesis we do not read anything about love to God, although the hearts of the patriarchs were not strangers to that love. But because there was, at that time, no written law of God by which men might see the zeal and hatred of God against sin, and because there was no ruler upon earth to punish and avenge sin as the representative of God, it is mentioned to the praise and honour of the patriarchs, that they feared God. Thus the angel said to Abraham, when he was about to sacrifice his son Isaac, Now, I know

that thou fearest God, Gen. xxi. 54; comp. ver. 42, and Gen. xxii. 12, xlii. 18. But after God had revealed himself on Mount Sinai as a jealous and terrible God, and filled men with great fear and awe, the commandment to love God was added expressly, lest men should go too far in their fear, and merely have a slavish terror of God; in the same way, afterwards, in the New Testament, when faith came, as St Paul says, Gal. iii. 23, when the promised and expected salvation appeared in Christ Jesus, this faith, dwelling in the heart, is more tried, exercised, and brought forward. During the period of the fathers of families, God appeared by visiting them, thus adapting Himself to the institutions of that period. He came as a guest, accompanied by two angels, to Abraham; He gave names to Abraham, to Sara, and to Isaac, just as fathers usually give names to their children. He speaks to them about their seed. He appears to Jacob at the head of a ladder, which reached from earth to heaven as a staircase, and upon which the angels of God came down and went up, as is done in a house. He appeared, finally, to this same Jacob as a man, wrestled with him, and gave him the name Israel. From all which, may be seen, the friendliness and great condescension of God at that time, and it is therefore the more beautiful that the patriarchs feared God in their heart, and did not abuse His great mercy. But when God intended to establish a new institution among men, and to prepare them more especially for the knowledge of his Son, as their Redeemer, He revealed himself upon Sinai, without image or similitude, amid thunders and lightnings, as a holy and terrible God. Then it was manifest that the sinner is not only dust and ashes, as Abraham said, but is at a great distance from God, because he is a sinner; and that it was no light and easy matter to open and grant, to such a one, access to the holy God. For this purpose, the manifold institutions of the levitical service were given to serve as types of Christ, that the people may be taught by them the holiness of God, the sinfulness and manifoldness of sin, and the necessity and nature of an atonement, and be thus led to understand Christ,

and the redemption through His blood. But because God chose the people of Israel to be likewise a kingdom, He established, also, kingly institutions, gave kingly statutes and commandments, ordered the ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat and cherubims, to be erected as a throne, and chose the city of Jerusalem as His residence. He is called king for the first time, *Exod. xv. 18*, and when the people of Israel had to fight often afterwards, and became a warlike nation, He is called the Lord Sabaoth, the Lord of Hosts, which name occurs for the first time *1 Sam. xvii. 45*. The Lord spoke very frequently of His kingdom by the mouth of His servant David. In the year of the death of King Uzziah, Isaiah saw the Lord as the immortal king of his orphaned nations, sitting on a high and lofty throne above the temple in Jerusalem. And when the time had come that this temple was to be destroyed, and the Jewish people sent into captivity, Ezekiel saw the Lord sitting on a throne above the cherubim, and departing from the temple, *Ezek. i. 26, x. 19, xi. 22, 23*. All these visions, and others, were adapted to the times in which they were vouchsafed, and very different from the appearances which the patriarchs, as fathers of families, saw. The royal throne was always connected with the temple, as is the case in the Apocalypse, *Rev. vii. 15*, because Christ is to be a king on his throne and a priest (*Zech. vi. 13*), and because the people, whose king the Lord is, cannot approach Him except by a priestly mediation. Every new manifestation and revelation of God, as also every declaration of a new name of God, was preceded by a time of great distress, because it was given, not to satisfy curiosity, but to comfort languishing and humble souls, and to teach them faith, patience, and hope. When afterwards the free Theocracy of God among men was suspended, and the people of God were given into the power of Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, God did not cease to bear the name of king (comp. *Zech. ix. 9*), even as our Saviour, in His deepest humiliation, confessed a good confession of His kingdom before Pharaoh, nor did the name of Lord Sabaoth disappear,

but rather occurs the more frequently in the books of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who, doubtless, wished to counteract thereby the terror of the Jews, who, as a poor and despised nation, feared the power of the heathens, and to show them that the God in whom they believed, had hosts enough to protect them, although they themselves possessed no earthly power wherewith to resist and repel the enemy. Moreover, soon after this, the Son of God revealed himself among men, by taking upon himself our nature; He walked before their eyes, worked, taught, and performed miracles among them, ate and drank with them, went to the temple as the Angel of the Covenant, taught in it, and purified it, and finally finished His course before the eyes of men in His suffering and death, burial, resurrection, and ascension. This condescension of the Son of God to the children of men surpassed all the manifestations which had been given to the patriarchs. They also were visited by the Son of God in human shape, but only for a short while; they received comforting promises; but the work of redemption was not then accomplished, nor was the human form then assumed by the Lord, that human nature which He united to His divinity, and in which He was exalted to heaven, but only a figure and shadow of the same. But when, in the fulness of time, the Son of God became flesh, He dwelt among us thirty-three years, united humanity to His divinity inseparably, and accomplished the greatest of all works, the redemption. And as He said many things on earth, both in parables and without parable, concerning the kingdom of God, so John saw the throne of God (Rev. iv.), and the Father, and the Lamb, and the Holy Ghost, and heard, at the same time, many things about the future reign of God. Thus the third period, though more abounding in affliction than any other, contains whatever was good in the two preceding ones. The merciful condescension of God towards the patriarchs, and the priestly, royal institution given to the people of Israel; in short, everything that had been revealed before, in a fragmentary manner, was summed up in the person of Christ;

but, at the same time, everything became more heavenly, invisible, spiritual, so that a greater amount of faith is now required to take hold of it. The more the love of God reveals itself, the more it conceals itself from the eyes of reason. The outward glory and splendour which the types of Christ possessed, as, for instance, Melchisedec, Aaron, David, was not to be seen by human eyes in the person of Christ himself. His incomparable excellence, beauty, and majesty, were invisible, and His outward appearance such as could not please the taste of this world, Isa. liii. The cross of Jesus, the preaching of the apostles, was, in the judgment of natural reason, more foolish than the preaching of Moses and Abraham, and yet it accomplished more than Moses' and Aaron's preaching. Because it was Christ's will to appear upon earth in the humble form of a servant, He chose the third part of the world-times, which is the darkest of all as regards His people, and it is according to the spirit of this period that His apostles and disciples are held up, to this day, to be a folly and a curse, and that His kingdom exists and grows under the enmity and oppression of the world, in a hidden and wonderful manner. But, notwithstanding, the faithful people of God, also such as are descended from Gentiles have, in Christ, the fullness of mercy and truth. They are no longer strangers and aliens in the kingdom of God, but fellow-citizens of the holy Israelites, who, in times of old, during the Theocracy, had obtained grace to be citizens in the kingdom of God, and they are now of the household of God, as the patriarchs were, who walked before God in childlike humility and trust. But in the last thousand years of the world, this knowledge and enjoyment will be much greater, and more universal. Israel or Zion will then be the chief church of the earth; the glory of the Lord will be seen specially upon them; but the Gentiles, also, will walk in their light, and kings in their brightness. The priesthood of Christ will then be explained much more deeply and fully, both by the types and the writings of the New Testament, in that temple of which Ezekiel speaks. The Spirit of God will then

bestow great gifts, and produce mighty effects. Then the Song of Solomon, which is now the most obscure book in Holy Scripture, will be clearly understood, and correspond more than any other with the experience of the Church, for the marriage-feast of the Lamb will be celebrated in heaven (according to Rev. xix.), and on earth it will be a Solomonic period, peaceful, quiet, glorious, nuptial, not in a carnal sense, but in a spiritual, even as the Scripture of all the prophets testifies. Israel will then be again a Theocracy; it will be ruled, not according to worldly, but according to divine statutes; not by strangers, but by Israelites; however, there will be then no king, but a prince, and thus the blessed Sabbath period of the Judges will return, not in the glory of the Old, but of the New Testament (Ezek. xlv., etc; Isa. i. 26). Such will be the kingdom of the Lord, Obad. 21; Rev. xi. 15.

Sec. 11. God leads His people by the statutes which He gives to His believers, or by the rules according to which their conduct to others is to be ordered. The command of love is, and always must be, the holy law for all times, to which all men must conform, because it flows from the nature of God, who is love; but the outward manifestations of this love are different in different periods of the world. During the government of the fathers of families, the holy patriarchs had to suffer and overlook much evil, and could not check it, because they had not power for so doing, and the authorities, who possess such power, were not as yet instituted by God. Melchisedec was king of Salem, and at the same time a priest; but Abraham, and the patriarchs before him and after him, were not invested with such an office, and hence they could exercise the duties of love, and follow their zeal against evil, only in as far as their position of fathers permitted. If they were treated unjustly, their best course was to suffer and to yield, to escape and to flee, because there was no ruler to protect them, and they were not rulers themselves. (Gen. xxvi. 22; 1 Cor. vi. 7). Abraham's expedition against the kings of the East was something extraordinary; and Abraham did not

make any conquest or take any bootý for himself; but God rescued Lot, and other prisoners, and their possessions, through Abraham, from the hands of their enemies, that all heathens might see that the faith of one man is stronger than the united might of many ungodly nations. After the establishment of the Theocracy, the elders, the judges, the kings, and, in extraordinary cases, even the prophets were invested with power to inflict capital punishment according to the divine law, and this not only for crimes referring to civil life, but also for such as refer to religion. For as God had established a visible kingdom on earth, why should He not inflict visible punishment of death on all who sin against Him their King, out of malice and wickedness? for no Israelite could plead ignorance, but all apostasy from their God and King arose from wilfulness. Besides, the whole people of Israel had the right to conquer the Holy Land promised to them, by the edge of the sword, to exterminate the Canaanites destined to destruction by the express command of God, to defend themselves afterwards with the sword against all heathens who wished to disturb them in their quiet possession of the land and its liberty; not to submit to any foreign king, and if it should be subjugated for a while, and be forced to serve a foreign power, to take the first opportunity to shake off such a yoke, as an illegitimate one, and as opposing their privileges, even though this should make the shedding of blood necessary. But how different was every thing after the Jewish people had come into the power of the Babylonians in the fourth year of King Jehoiakim. He had to obey the king of Babylon, and when he tried to shake off his yoke he came into great distress. Jechoniah likewise had to surrender to the Babylonians; Jeremiah gave the same advice to Zedekiah, who perished miserably because he did not follow it. After the Babylonian exile neither Zerubbabel, nor Mordecai, nor Nehemiah, made any attempt to liberate their nation; no prophet called them to do so, as Deborah called Barak, nor an angel, as in the case of Gideon. The Jewish people were to serve the Gentiles, hence Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah, men-

tion the year of the reign of the Persian kings as the dates of their prophecy, and this indicates that they are their subjects. God sent the Jewish people help against the tyranny of the Syrian kings in the Maccabean heroes, and gave them some liberty for a short time, but it was of very short duration; and then the nations came under the rule of the Romans and the Herodians, and from that period all attempts to free the Jews from the rule of the Gentile nations only aggravated their sad condition. Hence our Saviour himself exhorted the Jews to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and commanded His disciples to take to flight, when the Jewish war, in which Jerusalem was destroyed, would commence, and not to take any part in the insurrection of the Jews. The apostles and primitive Christians obeyed most faithfully the heathen governments, although hated and persecuted by them, and for our own time also the following words are our rule: Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers (Rom. xiii. 1), and "He that (wishes to defend and spread religion by outward force, and therefore) leadeth unto captivity shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints" (Rev. xiii. 10). Behold, thus the statutes of the saints vary with the times, but he who does not consider the character of the period in which he lives, will act foolishly and do harm to himself. In the last thousand years of the world the people of Israel will be delivered out of the hands of its enemies by the Lord himself, without human weapons; for the Lord will utterly defeat Antichrist and his army. Then Israel will be a free nation, and no more have any occasion for war, even as all other nations will then give up warfare (Isa. ii.). Hence, what is said, Isa. xi. 14, about Israel ruling over Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, and "spoiling them of the East," does not refer to warlike violence, or unjust spoliation, but the meaning of it is, that the nations mentioned will acknowledge the pre-eminence of Israel, and freely be subject to the Jewish people in all things, and allow

them to rule over them according to the royal law of love, and this is in harmony with the order which God has instituted in His Church, according to which the weak follows the strong, the disciple his teacher. Israel will spoil those of the East in the same way as you take a sharp knife from a child, exercising your parental authority for its good, or as one robs a kind friend of the gift which he gives freely, and out of his own accord.

With regard to the temporal welfare of God's people, which must also be considered in treating of God's leadings, it seems that the patriarchs enjoyed it to a great extent. They lived long, they were highly honoured, they had sufficient land for themselves and their cattle. No government oppressed them, no war disturbed them. But they had also sufferings; and the word: The Lord chasteneth whom He loveth, was true at that time also. However, for a long time the dark paths of the cross, through which God leads His people, were not known upon earth, as appears from the history of Job, whose extraordinary and manifold afflictions—but not equal to those of the apostles—were a stumbling-block to himself and to his friends, who were in other respects wise men. Towards the end of the period of the fathers of families, tribulations became more frequent and heavy, and life shorter; thus we read that Jacob had to suffer more than Isaac; Isaac more than Abraham. During the Theocracy there were many plagues, which fell on the just and on the unjust; for wherever the great majority of the people fell from God, war, famine, pestilence, tyranny, etc., were not kept back on account of the few righteous, but they being members of the kingdom, had to suffer with the wicked; the sufferings were a blessing to God's people and a curse to the unbelievers. Afterwards, God showed what a people had to suffer from the great power of a godless man, who abuses it to persecute the just and to suppress the true worship of God; for example, in the case of Saul and of Ahab. From the example of David, and of all the prophets, the people were to learn the nature of salutary spiritual conflicts and troubles. During this period, it is likely that the

people of God enjoyed earthly prosperity; whenever it was governed according to the laws of God, which are the most righteous and equitable of all laws, they experienced that, under the shelter of a divine form of government, they could lead a quiet and peaceable life in all soberness and honesty; moreover, the Old Covenant contained many and special promises of temporal blessings, of which God's people took hold in faith, though they were exercised, and their patience sorely tried, and though they were sometimes chastised, or even put to death as martyrs. In the third period of the world, general and individual sufferings became more frequent and more severe. The two last destructions of Jerusalem, the Babylonian captivity, the Persian, Greek, and Roman servitude of the Jews, the distress which they had to suffer during the wars of the Syrians and Egyptians, the cruel religious persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, etc., were heavier afflictions than had been experienced in the preceding ages. Finally, the Lord Jesus Christ himself opened fully the path of sufferings and the cross, by His doctrine and blessed example; and the apostles, when they wished to glory, gloried in their tribulations, and rejoiced that they were allowed to suffer with Christ; and, indeed, their sufferings were heavier, and lasted longer, than those of the patriarchs and prophets, but the spirit of glory, and the rich blessing of God, rested on them. After the coming of Christ, His Church had scarcely any outward rest for two centuries, and many thousand Christians were persecuted, maltreated, and put to death. After that arose the Arian, Mohammedan, and Papal oppressions, in short, the distress signified in the Revelations of St John by the seven trumpets, and which will only end when the wrath of God has poured out the seven vials. The whole third period of the world abounds much more in afflictions than the others, and he who wishes to live aright in our times must try to understand the cross. Since the third year of Jehoiakim there has not been a time equal in temporal prosperity to that of the patriarchs, or judges, or David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, etc. But there will be times of

greater prosperity than the earth has ever seen. Temporal blessings and spiritual prosperity will go together in the millennium. Long life (Is. lxv. 20, 21, 22), peace (Is. ii. 4), honour (Is. lx. 14, 15, 16), righteous government (Is. liv. 14; lx. 18)—all the rivers of blessings, which flowed in the periods of the patriarchs and the Theocracy, will meet, and the brightness of the New Testament, the spirit of grace and of supplication poured out abundantly, and the transcendent knowledge of Christ and His gospel will fill all hearts with peace and joy, and sanctify the enjoyment of all earthly blessings. Oh for the blessedness of the people who lived then to see the works of the Lord upon earth. But how great is the blessedness of them who will partake at that time of the marriage supper of the Lamb in heaven.

Sec. 12. *The transition from one period to another* was always signalled by remarkable events. Judgment always begins at the house of God, after that even severer judgment is sent on His enemies. Israel was sorely afflicted in Egypt; but the Egyptians were plagued with ten plagues; Pharaoh and his hosts were destroyed, but Israel was delivered. In the wilderness the unbelieving Jews were destroyed, but soon after the Canaanites were exterminated. At the end of the second period, great judgments were sent on the Jews, as Jeremiah describes in his Lamentations. But, soon after the wrath of God came over Babylon, and the Jews received liberty to return to their land. But as the time of servitude was to continue for a long time, there arose always new enemies and persecutors of Israel and the Church, who end, without exception, in destruction. But finally, the Church will have to suffer grievously from the enmity of Antichrist, but will obtain perfect liberty after his downfall. In like manner, the last day will make a perfect end of everything evil, and transplant the whole Church into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Rom. viii. 22). These two great and principal changes of the world are fully described in the prophetic word, in order that God's people may be war

forehand. God revealed the exodus to Abraham four hundred years before it took place (Gen. xv. 13, 14). Jacob prophesied concerning it and the condition of his descendants during the Theocracy (Gen. xlviii. 21, and xlix.). Joseph also spoke of the exodus (Gen. iv. 25). Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets, gave many prophecies concerning the Babylonian captivity and the return from this exile; and the same prophets, as well as those who lived during and after the exile, but especially the Revelations of St John, prophesy frequently the downfall of the New Testament Babylon, the destruction of the beast, and the deliverance of the Church of Christ. Holy Scripture speaks in many places of the final judgment. Thus the Holy Ghost revealed through the prophets the great changes, which are of peculiar importance to the chosen seed. If we take heed to these, we will interpret prophecy aright, whereas many mistakes are committed by attaching importance to this or that war and calamity, which, though they may be important for those immediately affected by it, do not cause a great change on earth. We remark, however, that at every one of these four great transition times, the Lord sends great men to guide and help His Church. Thus, He sent Moses at the exodus out of Egypt, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, at the commencement of the Babylonian captivity, and each one of these had a different mission; the first remained in the land of Israel, the second was in Babylon, the third at the Babylonian and Persian courts. Shortly before the destruction of Antichrist, the two witnesses, which are described, Rev. xi., will be sent of God. I do not know whether God will send such great men previous to the final judgment, but it is probable.

Sec. 13. Moses, in his first book, describes the rule of the fathers of families; hence it is not strange that he narrates such apparently insignificant things, and includes marriages, quarrels between brothers, compacts and contracts between neighbours, buying and dividing of property, money affairs, births of children, stories of bond-servants and maid-servants, etc. Such were

at that time the most important instances in which God revealed His power and mercy, love and righteousness. The first book of Moses is the best family-book, from which we may learn what is necessary for a family. After families come kingdoms, therefore the Bible gives first the history of the former. But as the institution of families continues during the kingdoms, this book of Moses is useful in all times. The book of Job belongs to the same period, for his long life proves that he lived either in the time or before the time of Moses. We read in this book that Job, a good and upright man, was sorely afflicted in body and soul, house and goods, honour and children; that Satan and earthly enemies, and inexperienced friends, and even his own wife, were united against him. Job was no king, and had no prince or ruler over him, therefore he could not ask any one to protect him against the Chaldeans and Arabs, who had robbed him; and for this reason he does not complain that justice was refused him. He was the free ruler of his house and numerous servants as Abraham; but he had, moreover, "his help in the gate," from which it is likely that he stood in connection with other tribes, with whom he judged people under the gate.

Sec. 14. The history of the establishment of the Theocracy or the kingly government of God over His people, is described in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; but its subsequent history is contained in the other books of the Old Testament, with the exceptions of the books of Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. The most flourishing part of this period was the time when there was no visible king, and every one did as he thought right, when the people of Israel enjoyed the greatest liberty in serving God and obeying His commandments. At that time Israel enjoyed rest, a foretaste of heaven, whence the expression, "the land had rest," is of such frequent occurrence in the book of Judges, whereas it occurs only once in the times of the kings, and then only as referring to ten years (2 Chron. xiv. 1). The judges,

which the Lord gave to the people by His immediate call whenever necessity required it, were not such burdens on the people as the kings proved afterwards, even as Samuel foretold them (1 Sam. viii.). Moreover, in the time of the judges the people were more easily turned to repentance after they had departed from the right way, by chastisements and the authority of the judges, whereas, in the latter times of the kings, neither the severest afflictions, nor the prophets so frequently sent to them, nor even the kings (for example, 2 Chron. xv. 17) were able to lead the people back to the true worship of God after their falling into idolatry and all kinds of godlessness. Therefore, when God promised to the people of Israel, by His prophet Isaiah, the future better times, He says: "Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries and avenge me of mine enemies, and I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin, and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning; afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city" (Isaiah i. 25, 23, 26).

Sec. 15. *The book of Daniel* comprises the whole third period, or the whole time of the servitude and dispersion of the holy people. Hence the importance of this book, and its great use for our times. And surely this book will find many readers and investigators at this time, the end of the third period, who will find in it great wisdom, for during the fourth period of the world it will not be so necessary. But this period is described not only by Daniel, but also by Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; also, the evangelists and apostles lived during this period, and both as prophets and teachers they speak of its peculiarities. There is, moreover, no book in the Old Testament in which mention is not made of this period, for all the prophecies of Christ's incarnation, suffering, death, resurrection, and ascension, as also the prophecies relating to the dispersion of Israel, refer to this time. But Daniel has this advantage, that he lived at the beginning of this period, and that he described it to

its end ; some beautiful but passing glances into the last period of the world were likewise granted him.

Sec. 16. *The Revelation of John, or rather of the Lord Jesus Christ*, resembles in many ways the prophecies of Daniel, embracing as it does, a great part of the same period described by Daniel ; but the two books differ in several respects. Daniel begins with an earlier period than the Revelations, for the latter does not speak of the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek kingdoms, which, at the time of John, belonged to the past (?). Whereas the Apocalypse extends into more remote times than Daniel, and also contains a description of the last thousand years of the world (the beginning and general character of which were revealed also to Daniel), as also the final judgment, the New Jerusalem, etc. The prophecies of Daniel refer, in the first place, to Christ and the Roman destruction of Jerusalem (Dan. ix.). Then they describe the last Antichrist (xi. 36). But the great intermediate period from the destruction of Jerusalem to Antichrist, is filled up by the Revelations of St John, which extends to the times after Antichrist. Besides, a Daniel, who was a holy statesman, described the history of the people of God, viewed in relation to the four world-kingsdoms. John, on the other hand, as an apostle and teacher of the Church, had to view history from the Christian or churchly aspect, though he mentions worldly kings and kingdoms occasionally. In the prophecies of Daniel, the four world kingdoms, which he saw represented by different symbols, form the thread which runs through the whole book, so that he prophesies the sufferings of the people of God under each of these kingdoms. It is quite different in the case of John. He saw and described the history of the Church during and after the fourth world-kingdom, but he did not see that kingdom itself under any symbol (?), whereas he saw the Church as a woman clothed with the sun (Rev. xii.), which Daniel did not see apart from the kingdoms of the world. Thus, Daniel saw the last Antichrist as a horn growing out of the fourth beast or fourth kingdom, but John described it as a

separate beast, having an individual existence. Daniel called him a king, and dwells at length on his worldly conquests and warfares; John looked more to his spiritual tyranny and seduction; for which reason he adds a second beast, the false prophet, who comes in the semblance of spirituality. Thus, Antichrist and his followers are described by the two prophets, Daniel and Isaiah. Isaiah xxix. and Joel iii., and Zechariah xii., xiii., and xiv., describe more particularly the army of Antichrist or the heathens which came up against Jerusalem and Israel, but Antichrist himself is not mentioned in their prophecy. Thus, one prophet supplements the other, for they all prophesied only "in part." What was obscure to the one was revealed to the other; what is only briefly described by the one is more fully prophesied by the other.

Sec. 17. With regard to the *fourth period of the world*, or the *thousand last years of the world*, there is no book of the Bible which treats of them exclusively; but the promises referring to that blessed time are scattered throughout the Scriptures, and added as a source of consolation and hope to the prophecies concerning the dangers and afflictions of the Church. And let this suffice. In this order we must speak and write about it. It is revealed, not to satisfy curiosity, but to strengthen our faith and to quicken our hope. It is easy for us to bear good and joyful events whenever they come, though they were not circumstantially foretold; but it consoles a Christian, who is often grieved and distressed in these dark times, and who has a zeal for the honour of Jesus Christ and His kingdom, to look forward to the golden times, when all *pia desideria* will be fulfilled and realised, and to see them even now in the mirror of the divine word.

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